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Manawatu

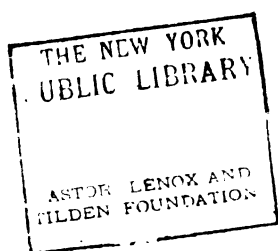
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OLD MANAWATU.





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C.N.

OLD
MANAWATU,
OR
THE WILD DAYS OF THE WEST. 1

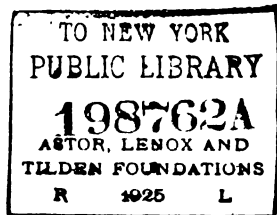
BY
T. LINDSAY ^{Thomas.}BUICK, J.P.,
AUTHOR OF "OLD MARLBOROUGH."

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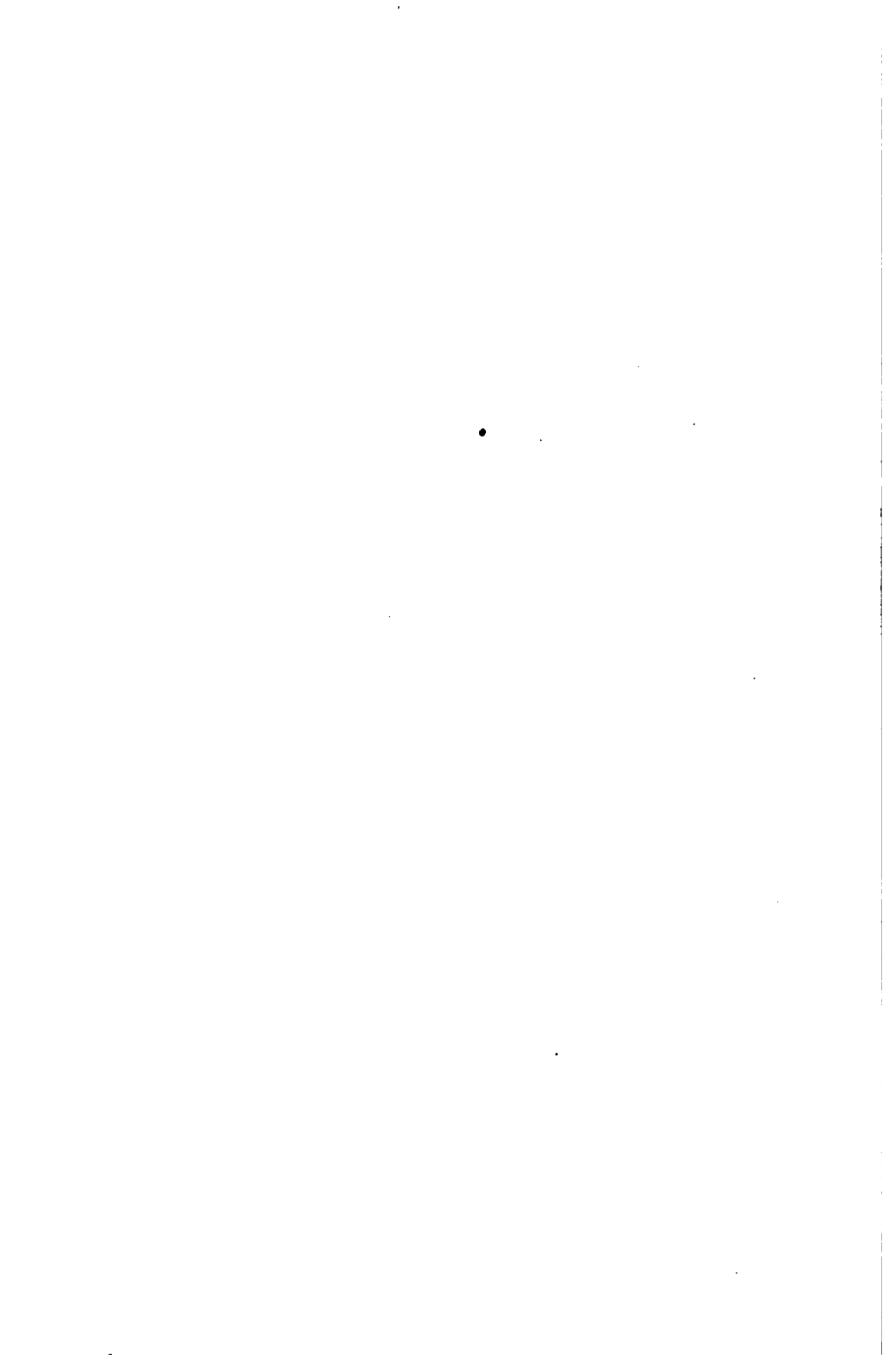
To

EDWARD TREGAR, F.R.G.S., F.R.HIST.S.,

A faithful labourer in the vineyard of knowledge,

I respectfully dedicate this book.

Sept 8 April 1925



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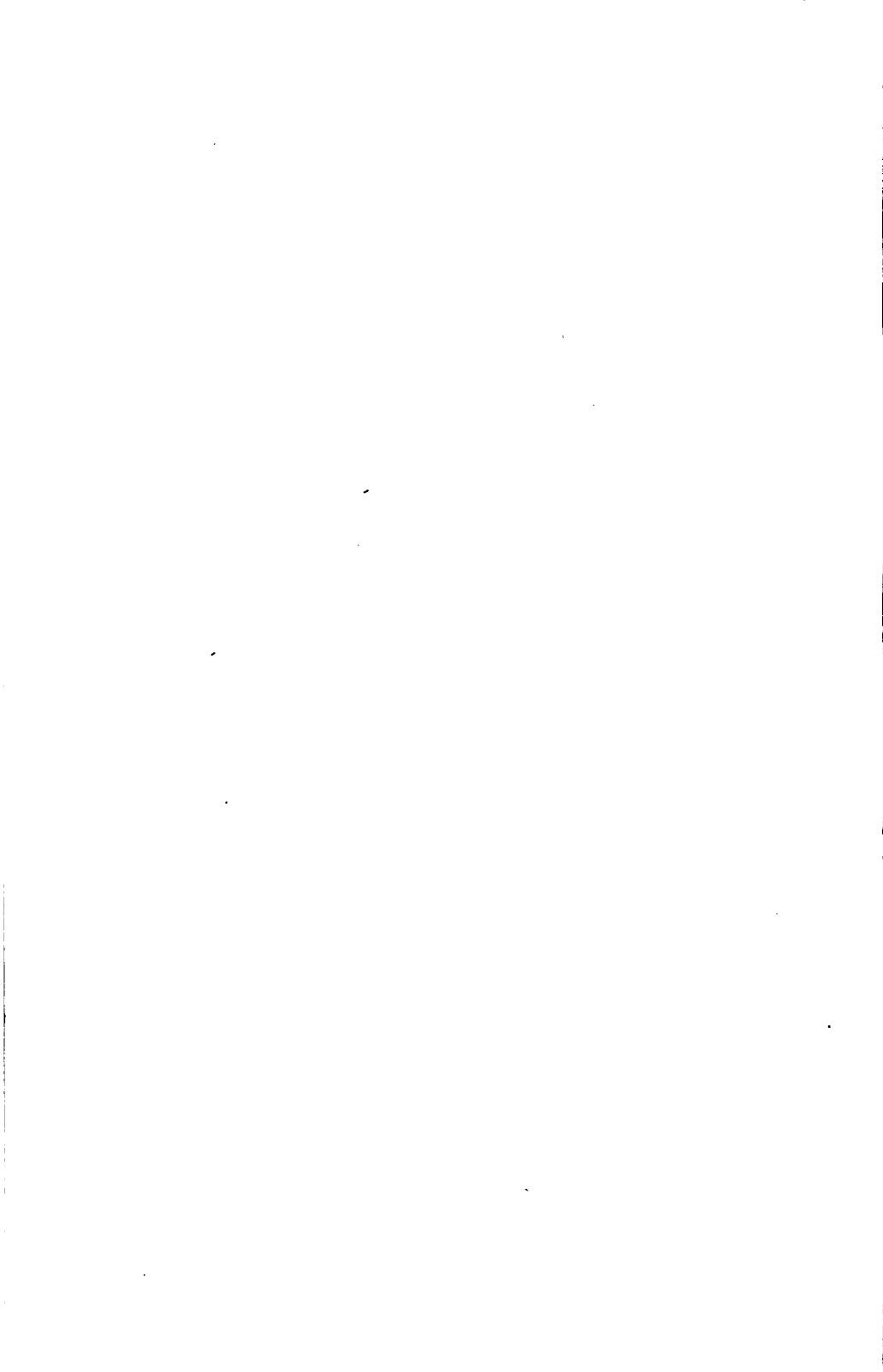
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PREFACE.

In presenting this book to the public, I feel that it is due to myself to explain that it has been written during the few and intermittent moments I have been able to snatch from my ordinary journalistic work. I say few and intermittent advisedly, because the constant grind of a daily newspaper is perhaps the nearest approach to perpetual motion that has yet been discovered. But this being the year in which Palmerston North has celebrated the silver jubilee of its municipal life, and Feilding has held its first Industrial Exhibition, it has appeared to me an opportune time to collect some of the fast-receding history connected with these rising towns and their rapidly-extending districts. I have therefore set out the statement of events found in the succeeding pages, and I have done so for two reasons—the desire to see as much as possible of the provincial history of New Zealand recorded before it is irretrievably lost, and the hope that a closer acquaintance with the story of Old Manawatu will create a greater reverence for the romantic past than I fear at present prevails amongst the young New Zealanders. In

my treatment of the subject I have aimed only to trace those historic influences which have contributed in some degree to the measure of civilisation which we now enjoy, with here and there a flash in lighter vein perhaps, to illustrate some trait of character, or some phase of the social life of the early settlers. So far as the Native history is concerned, I have necessarily had to accept largely of Maori tradition, which may or may not be reliable, but which in all probability is just as accurate as many of the romances upon which European history has been built up. In the chapters dealing with the later periods I have purposely avoided unduly obtruding the personal element upon the reader, because the scheme of the book is to give a history of the place, and not biographical sketches of the people. Persons have therefore been mentioned only in so far as they have contributed to the development of large movements, or have been in some way typical of the times. A proper appreciation of this fact is necessary to prevent disappointment on the part of some who might otherwise think that they or their friends have not been given sufficient prominence amongst the pioneers. While I have not by any means exhausted the subject, possibly I have paved the way for a successor who may be blessed with more of time and opportunity to elaborate it. But if within

the pages of "Old Manawatu" some one should find something which he did not know before, then, small as the service may be, I will be justified in concluding that my labour has not been altogether in vain.

THE AUTHOR.

Duke Street,
Palmerston North,
March 30th, 1903.

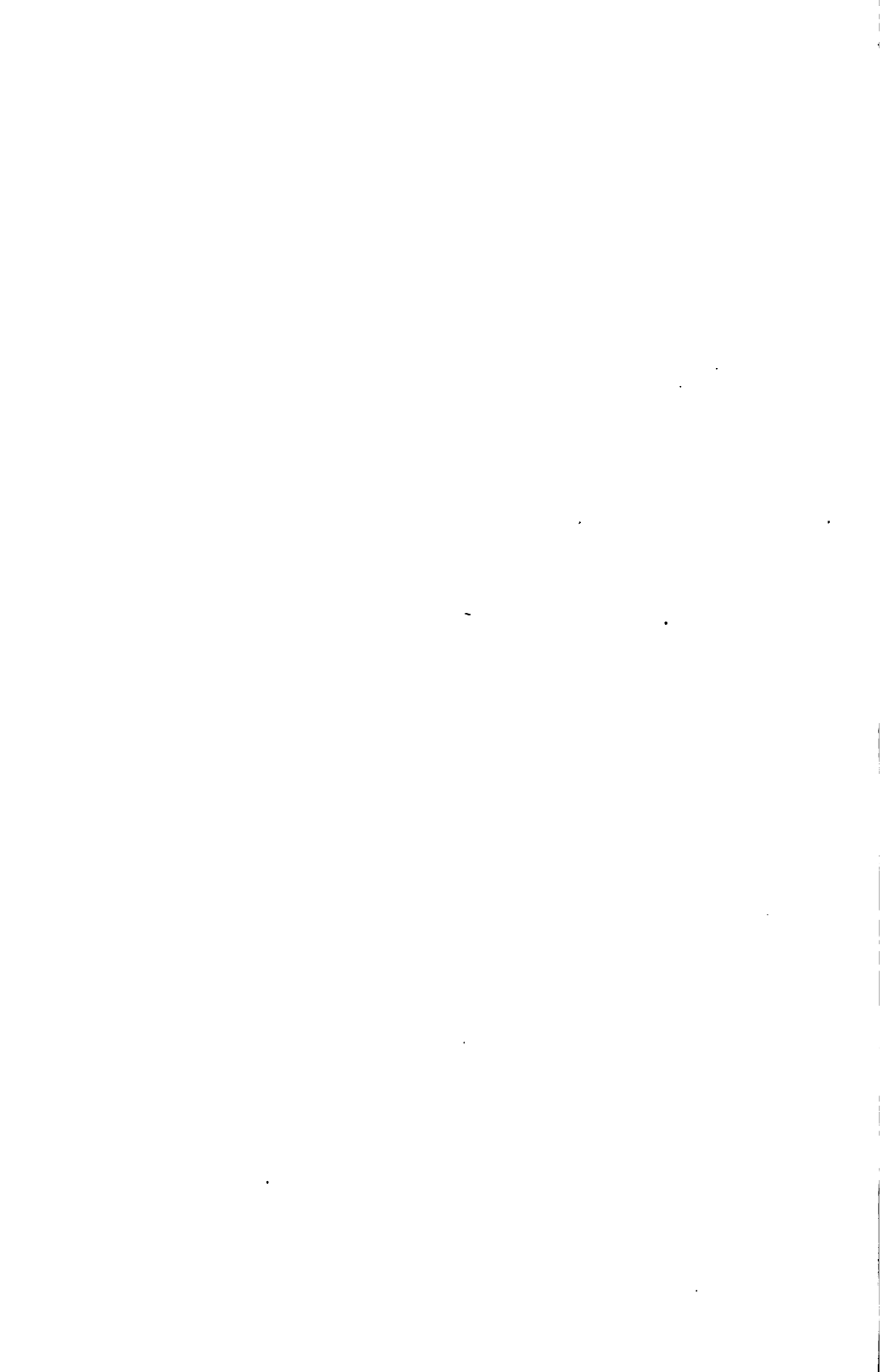
NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

Unlike the doll-maker in "La Poupee," I am unable to claim this book as "My work—all my work!" At every turn I have had to make demands upon old settlers for information on first one point and then another, and most cheerfully have they responded to my importunities. In this respect I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Snelson, Mrs. Halcombe, Bishop Hadfield, the Revs. J. Duncan and T. G. Hammond, Dr. Rockstrow, the late Mr. W. T. L. Travers, Messrs. R. N. Keeling, D. McEwen, E. S. Thynne, John Kebbell, F. Robinson, J. T. Stewart, George Nye, James Linton, J. O. Batchelar, S. Abrahams, J. Rush, and Mr. T. W. K. Foster, of Feilding, and to these ladies and gentlemen I now gratefully acknowledge my obligation.

I am equally indebted to the old chief Kerei te Panau, his wife Ereni te Awe Awe, and Mr. and Mrs. Henry, of the Awapuni *pa*, for much of the information upon which I have based the Maori chapters, and to Captain Preece, N.Z.C., and Mr. Moffatt, for kindly interpreting for me. In this connection I have also to acknowledge frequent references made to Mr. Travers' "Life and Times of Te Rauparaha" when writing the story of the Second Conquest, and to Mr. Wakefield's "Adventure in New Zealand" for some of the material in the succeeding chapter.

The illustrations I owe mainly to the kindness of Mrs. Henry, Dr. Rockstrow, Mr. J. T. Stewart, Mr. Pegler, Pirani Bros., and to Messrs. Sandilands, Hook, and Wackrill, of Feilding.

Possibly some Maori scholars may take exception to my method of spelling the name of the tribe which in the first chapter I have called Ngatiara, preferring to see it spelt as Ngaitara, but I have adopted the former because it is the style most generally used here, and I understand that Ngati and Ngait are synonymous terms.



CHAPTER I.

THE LAND OF THE RANGITANE.

Lo where the giant on the mountain stands,
His blood-red tresses deep'ning in the sun,
With death-shot glowing in his fiery hands,
And eye that scorcheth all it glares upon;
Restless it rolls, now fixed, and now anon
Flashing afar—and at his iron feet
Destruction cowers, to mark what deeds are done:
For on this morn two potent nations meet,
To shed before his shrine the blood he deems most sweet.

ON the West Coast of the North Island of New Zealand there is a narrow strip of land, sloping from the mountains to the sea, which, according to the freak of nature or the whim of men, has been divided into separate districts, each with its distinctive name and individual history. The portion of this coast line to which the writer seeks to direct the attention of his readers is that lying midway between Wellington and Whanganui, and which has been known from time immemorial as "The Manawatu." What the precise geographical boundaries are which officially define the limits of this district it is not

necessary here to state, as, for the author's purpose, the theatre of the events narrated may be said to extend from Horowhenua in the south to Rangitikei in the north. Upon the character of the physical and scenic features of this area, prior to the advent of the European, we can only indulge our fancy in the realm of speculation, but doubtless they were such as many other portions of New Zealand have been and some still are—a water-formed, forest-clad plain, skirted by a range of low hills, which, although dignified by the name of mountains, are by no means imposing in their appearance. At the feet of these wooded Tararuas there rolls a majestic river, to which the superstition and imagery of the Maori has ascribed a peculiar origin.

Away upon the slopes of the Puketoi Ranges there grew in the days of old a giant Totara tree, into which the spirit of a God called Okatia suddenly entered, and endowed it with the power of motion, whereupon it gradually wormed its way over the land, gouging out a deep bed as it went, until it came to the mountain chain which separates the East from the West Coast. Then it clove a course for itself through this huge barrier, which the mighty Okatia split asunder as easily as a child would break a twig, and on passed the inspired tree, ploughing

its irresistible way with many serpentine wanderings towards the sea, leaving the turbulent waters and still reaches of the Manawatu River flowing in its wake.

Into this larger torrent there ran many minor streams, whose waters, sometimes overflowing, formed wide lagoons, which teemed with eels, while within the shelter of the bush there lived myriads of winged and wingless birds for which the cunning natives daily set their snares. As to who these natives were, we know nothing beyond the fact that they comprised a section of the Ngatimamoe, Ngatiara, and Ngatihotu peoples. For this information we are dependent solely upon the vague and shadowy message of Maori tradition; for before the earliest of the explorers had begun to sail through the silent spaces of the Southern Seas, these original occupiers had been conquered and driven out. Even after they had come and gone, neither Tasman nor Cook afford us any description of the district or its inhabitants, for the former had no opportunity, and the latter no inducement, to land. Tasman was opposite the mouth of the Manawatu River during the dog watch on the night of December 21st, 1642; but it being dark, and the weather foul and foggy, he saw nothing of which he might leave his impressions, and "as the gale began to freshen," he says, "we went about,

and steered a south-westerly course towards the southern shore."

Cook was scarcely more fortunate, for although he came cautiously feeling his way down the coast in daylight, he tells us that "the weather was squally, attended by showers of rain." His observations were therefore confined to such glimpses as he could get between the clouds—glimpses which were only sufficient to reveal to him the crest of the hills, a few tree tops, and the general trend of the land.

It is then to the natives themselves that we must turn for what we know of the Manawatu's primitive history, and glean what we may of its early people through the thick veil of half-forgotten Maori legend. These traditions do not carry us further back than the coming of the Rangitane people, and although it is not known more than approximately when their first ancestors arrived, it is from them we learn that the country was inhabited, and that the people who were already in possession had, when the invasion took place, their habitations comfortably nestling beside the banks of the river, or in the shade of the primeval bush.

Even the earliest of the Rangitane traditions are distinctly legendary, but through their mists we get a peep at what must have been

one of the first love stories in New Zealand, and out of its tragic sequel we have had handed down to us the geographical names by which the rivers of the west from Whanganui to the Wairarapa are known. This legend, which has passed from chief to chief—from generation to generation—tells of a great *tohunga* of the tribe named Hau, who for some reason was refused a passage in the Takitumu and Kurahaupo canoes when these vessels were preparing for their fateful voyage from Hawaiki. *

* The largest section of the Rangitane people came with Turi in the Aotea canoe, and are now settled near Patea. The Aotea was a sister canoe to the Matakoura, both being hewn out of the trunk of a huge Totara tree which grew on the banks of the Waiharakeke stream, in Hawaiki. The tree was cut down by Toto, who also constructed the canoes, and gave the Aotea to his daughter, who was the wife of Turi, and the Matakoura he presented to his remaining daughter. Turi brought with him in the Aotea the kind of sweet potato called the *kakau*, *karaka* berries, a species of fern tree, live edible rats in boxes, tame *pukeko*, and some green parrots. The Aotea landed first at Whangaparaoa, north of Auckland, where some of the *karaka* seeds were planted, thence she sailed round the North Cape, and was finally abandoned at Aotea harbour, near Kawhia. Turi and his people then came overland, naming the rivers on the way, as far as Patea. Here they settled, and it is said the *karaka* trees planted by Turi are still to be seen.

The ancestors of the Rangitanes now resident in the Manawatu came in the Kurahaupo canoe, which was hewn with celebrated greenstone axes out of a tree which grew in the Tawhiti-nui Forest. She was made at the same time and place as the Arawa, and was commanded on her voyage by three chiefs. Ruata was the principal chief, and acted as steersman. Whatonga had charge of the fore part of the canoe, and Popoto, a minor chief, was stationed in the centre, his duties being to urge the crew to greater exertions, and to see that there was no "skulking." The positions of these three men thus corresponded with our nautical ranks of captain, first mate, and "bosun." The Kurahaupo landed at a little bay inside Mahia Peninsula, called Nukutaurua, where according to the legend she was turned into stone by Hau.

Concerning the Takitumu canoe, differing legends give the names of various men as its chief, but it is known that the ancestor of the Kahungunu tribe, of Hawke's Bay, was among them. During the voyage the people on board were very short of food, and it is said that they were compelled to resort to the last extremity of eating their children. It is alleged that this canoe was also turned into stone, and now lies at Murihiku.

Of what offence Hau had been guilty, that he should be considered unworthy of a place in the canoe, is not stated, but that he deeply resented the insult is abundantly evident, and to revenge it he employed to the utmost his priestly powers. While the voyagers were toiling against tedious seas, and suffering the extreme pangs of hunger, the *tohunga*, with war in his heart, sped through the air, using the stars for his stepping stones and a cloud for his canoe,* and reached his destination before the Kurahaupo was yet in sight. As she neared the shore the first figure which met the anxious gaze of the crew was the commanding form of the irrepressible Hau, who was waiting on the beach to receive them. But not with a warm and cordial welcome did he await them; no song of joy escaped his lips; but grimly he stood with his feet planted upon the rocks, feasting his angry

* Another Rangitane tradition accounts for the presence of Hau in New Zealand by the supposition that he secreted himself in the bow of the Kurahaupo when the canoes left Hawaiki. Being discovered on the voyage he was thrown overboard, but was swallowed by a whale and carried to the shore in the fish's belly. Truly a singular parallel to the story related of the prophet Jonah, about which it is reasonable to suppose the Maori never heard prior to the advent of the missionaries. This legend has doubtless arisen from the fact that Whanganuiatoro (Hawke's Bay) was a favourite resort for whales in the days before the whalers and commerce had driven them further south, and the Maori, seeing them in such numbers, concluded that it was by their agency that Hau reached New Zealand before them. At Nukutaurua, where the Rangitane people settled, the whales were frequently stranded, this being attributed by the natives to the fact that on the shore of the bay there is a peculiar sand dune which takes precisely the shape of a whale, while to add to its realistic appearance, there is growing at its head a *matipo* tree which resembles the jet of water which issues from the whale when it rises to blow. This, the natives think, acts as a decoy and brings the whales ashore.

Still another tradition concerning Hau declares that he came to New Zealand in company with its discoverer, Kupe.

soul upon the contemplated pleasure of consigning his rejectors to the perils of shipwreck.

Under the fanning influence of a gentle breeze, the great double canoe came sweeping on towards the promontory of Mahia, which forms the north-eastern extremity of Hawke's Bay. Full of unrestrained excitement at thus safely reaching the land of their destiny, the crew were anxiously searching for a favourable haven in which to beach their weather-stained vessel, when their course was checked by an imperious shout from Hau, who, amidst a hurricane of incantations, hurled a curse at the voyagers. Instantly the Kurahaupo sank beneath the waves, and the Maori, who still believes in the power of the *tohunga*, can see in a reef of rocks which runs out from the shore the petrified remains of the canoe, and those of her passengers who were unable to escape the vengeance of the offended priest.

But Hau soon had other matters to attend to besides teaching his tribesmen to be respectful towards their superiors, for it would appear that human nature in those days was not less fickle than it is in these. The Maori is essentially a romantic being, and on the classic side of his life there is much that compares favourably with people who esteem themselves, and who have been esteemed by

others, to be in an altogether higher grade of civilisation. Their songs and tales are full of poetry and imagery, betraying a rude acquaintance with things celestial as well as things terrestrial, but in no branch of their romanticisms have they reached to higher flights, or woven more fanciful stories, than in their legends of love, which are replete with instances like that of Hinemoa's passionate devotion, or the less-enduring affection of the faithless Helena of ancient Troy.

It is a story of the latter class with which we are now concerned, for it appears that when Hau came to New Zealand he brought with him from the isle of Hawaiki a wife who was to be his solace and comfort. Whether his conduct towards her merited so base an abandonment we are not told, but the fact remains that Wairaka had not long reached her new home before she became enamoured of a more comely spouse called Weku, with whom she suddenly eloped. Whither they had gone the twice-injured *tohunga* knew not, but he determined to pursue the destroyer of his domestic happiness, and chastise with priestly severity the sin of his adulterous bride. Up and down the island he wandered, foot-sore and weary, but sustained in his search by the hope of one day being able to right his connubial wrongs.

It was while upon this mission of retaliation

that he found his way to the West Coast; and his journey along its shores is of interest to us, as it was then that he gave to the rivers and streams the names by which we now know them. Hau appears to have been an observant man, and to have made a mental note of the peculiar features of the country as he passed by. Thus, when he faced the flood of the first river he marked its wide expanding mouth, and named it Whanganui.* Pressing on, he came to another stream, which he thought, was so close that he could splash the water of the Whanganui into it, and so he called it Wangaehu.† The next he called Turakina,‡ because he believed that if he felled a tree growing on the banks of the Wangaehu its foliage would reach to the edge of this new stream. Between this and the next river there was a considerable distance to travel, and in commemoration of his weary walk he called it Tikei,§ to denote the action of the legs in walking. Then he came to a large river which he feared he would not be able to cross. As he stood upon its bank and saw the sweeping tide flowing in front of him, he felt that at last he had come upon an insuperable barrier to his course, and as his

* The great mouth.

† The splashed mouth, from *ihou*, to splash or bale.

‡ From *turahi*, to throw down.

§ From *tikei*, a pace in walking. This river is now called Rangitikei.

heart sank within him he called it Manawatu*—the depressed spirit. Things, however, were not so bad as they seemed, and Hau succeeded in crossing the river, only to find his progress impeded by the whistling wind as he passed the spot, which he named Hokio. The next small stream he called Ohau, to perpetuate his own name and celebrate his visit. Then, poising his spear in a horizontal position, as though about to strike in battle, he carried it in this fashion while he waded through the waters of the succeeding stream, in consequence of which he called it Otaki.†

At Waimea‡ he made the stream sacred, and strengthened himself in his resolve to find his wife by repeating a prayer, and then pushing on he came to yet another river,‡ up and down the banks of which he peered slyly to see if he could discover any trace of Wairaka, but being unsuccessful in his search he passed

While I was travelling on one occasion between Wellington and Palmerston North, a very intelligent native entered the railway carriage at Levin. As he spoke English with the utmost fluency we got into conversation, in the course of which the subject turned upon the origin and meaning of Maori names. Among the many interesting things he told me was a version of the origin of the name Manawatu, which he said arose after one of the inter-tribal fights at the Gorge. At the end of a hard day's battle the warriors of one of the tribes succeeded in getting down to the river, and there refreshed themselves with its waters, which gave them new life and fresh heart. The battle was at once resumed, and victory came with their recuperated energies. Hence Manawatu—new heart. Unfortunately the train brought us to our destination before I had time to question him upon the contradiction of the two meanings, "depressed spirit" and "new heart," and I have not since had another opportunity. The Maoris generally, however, seem to cling to the tradition of Hau.—Author.

† From *tahi*, to level a spear when making a charge.

‡ From *maah-maah*, to make sacred. † Waikanae.

on to Te Paripari, the southern extremity of the Tararua Ranges, and there he suddenly came upon his faithless bride, nestling in the arms of her paramour. In what manner he settled accounts with the wicked Weku tradition does not tell, but doubtless such punishment was meted out to him as is characteristic of the imperious priest in every age and country. The method employed in disposing of Wairaka is, however, more certain. Turning sternly upon her, he said, "Wairaka! I am thirsty, go fetch me some water." The guilty woman immediately took up a calabash in each hand, and descending to the sea with ashamed and subdued mien, began to fill them; but the thick water of the shore was not the limpid fluid with which the wearied *tohunga* wished to slake his parched throat, and he peremptorily ordered her to wade in further, where the deeper waters were. In she went until the tide rose to her knees, and then to her waist, but the purpose of the inexorable Hau was not yet served, and in obedience to his unrelenting command Wairaka went on again, until the waves washed over her shoulders. Then, having her at his mercy, the revengeful priest rose in his heathen rage, and repeating one of his most potent incantations, flung his angry curse at the erring woman. Instantly she was turned into a pillar of stone, and there she stands to-day, a

rock in the ocean, whose history is known to every native versed in the traditions of his tribe.

Hau, having succeeded in his mission and accomplished his purpose, went on his way rejoicing, treading the rough coast with nimble steps and buoyant air, until he reached a great valley in the east, which in those days resembled a vast primeval park. Here he found a river bright and sparkling as its waters rippled over the rapids, and likening its glistening flood to the light of the eye when the heart is glad, he called it Wairarapa,* or "the river of joy."

This legend, vague and improbable as it is in parts, has been so highly thought of by the descendants of Hau, that their poets have woven it into a rhymeless song, and many a Rangitane child has been lulled to sleep as its mother crooned these unmeasured lines—

"O, my daughter, when you came from afar,
And your hands were formed, and your feet,
And your face, you floated, O daughter,
In the Kurahaupo, Ruatea's canoe,
When you embarked in the Aotea, the canoe of Turi,
You forded the Whenua-kura at its mouth,
There was made the house of Rangitawi,
Let us plant the kumara,
And sow the karaka in the land bordering the sea;
Sink deep the post Tamawahinei,
Leave it for Nga-tua-hine, from Nonoko-uri,
From Notoko-tea, the Hererunga and Korohunga.

* Now called Ruamahunga.

Hau took up some sand in the palm of his hand, and his staff,
When he crossed over the river,
Finding it was wide he called it Whanga-nui ;
Splash the water that will reach Wangae-hu ;
The length of a fallen tree is Turakina ;
Having many times lifted up his feet, Tikei ;
When his heart sank within him, Manawatu ;
When the wind whistled past his ears, Hokio ;
The small river he called Ohau ;
When he carried his staff in a horizontal position, Otaki :
When he prayed, O daughter, it was Wai-mea ;
When he looked out of the corner of his eye, Wai-kanae ;
When he became weary, my daughter, he reached Wairaka,
He repeated an incantation,
She became fixed above and fixed below,
My daughter when his eyes glistened with delight,
He called the place Wairarapa,
Enough, it is finished, O my daughter."

The legendary nature of this song is further emphasised by the fact that the credit of its geographical discoveries is sometimes attributed to Turi. But it seems abundantly clear that the explorations of that chief were confined to the country north of Patea, while to the southward we are indebted to Hau for our river nomenclature.

At this point, however, he appears to vanish entirely from the traditions of the Rangitane people, to whom he offered no further molestation, but permitted them to settle down on the shore of a sheltered bay inside Mahia Peninsula, which they called Nukutaurua. Here they built their *pas*, planted the kumara and karaka,* and from this centre

* The *karaka* brought in the Kurahaupo canoe was a smaller kind than that brought in the Aotea.

they extended their settlements and their influence over the country now known as Hawke's Bay. Ruatea, the principal chief, stayed with the larger part of his people at Nukutaurua, but Whatonga, prompted by the adventurous spirit which led him to New Zealand, went further afield, and settled near the present town of Hastings. His *pa* was one of exceptional strength, and within its palisade stood a house called "Heretaunga," which was known far and wide as a dwelling of great beauty, as beauty is expressed by Maori art.

At this spot Whatonga gathered round him a considerable section of his people, over whom he presided with the care and dignity becoming a chief. Had his domestic relations been as pleasant, and his authority at home as undisputed as it was abroad, it is more than likely that he would have lived and died at Heretaunga. As it was, the whole fortunes of the tribe were altered by the overpowering will and irrepressible tongue of the woman he had espoused, and to whom he looked for comfort and consolation. We have no definite information as to what manner of woman Madam Whatonga was, but if we are to judge by the incident which led to the migration of the tribe, she must be regarded as a lady of highly turbulent temper; in fact, the case against her might be stated

even more strongly, for it would perhaps be no exaggeration to liken her to the wife of Kipling's soldier, who declared that

“ A kind o' volcano she were. ”

At all events, it was one of the many domestic ruptures in the Whatonga family which led to the flight of the chief, and as the incident ultimately contributed to the colonisation of the Manawatu, it is worthy of some attention. The story, as we have it handed down to us, describes how the chief proceeded one day with a party to the rocks at Cape Kidnappers to catch a supply of fish for the needs of the *pa*. The expedition appears to have been eminently successful, and a large number of *tamure** were placed in the baskets and carried home in triumph. But amongst the fish claimed by the chief as his share was a species of rock cod, which the natives call *nohu*, and which in the economy of nature has been supplied with rather prickly scales. In due course the chief took his basket home, and with feelings of pardonable pride he laid it before his wife, who immediately began to prepare the finny captives for the evening meal. As the Fates would have it, the first fish to which she applied the culinary course was this unlucky *nohu*, with the result that as she scraped the scales off, one of them ran into her finger, and

* Commonly called Schnapper.

she began to relieve her mind by roundly abusing *paterfamilias*. During the course of her ebullitions, she declared with unmeasured emphasis that it was always the way when he went out to fish: he never brought home anything but this useless kind, but when other women's husbands went out they brought nice fish, which their wives could cook with some degree of pleasure. In most ungracious language the angry wife told her lord that he ought to be ashamed of himself, and then strode out of the *whare* with her nose in the air and fire in her eye.

This infelicitous speech cut Whatonga to the quick, and as he was probably growing weary of his wife's shrill tongue and sarcastic remarks, he settled in his own mind that the most pleasant solution of his troubles would be to leave and look for a new home in another part of the country. He therefore determined to emulate the example of Hau, the difference being that instead of looking for his wife he wanted to lose her. Accordingly, from his next visit to the fishing ground he did not return, but with a select band of warriors took to his canoe and paddled down the East Coast.

What his adventures by the way were, we are not informed, but it appears that in the course of his journey he reached the Middle



KEREI TE PANAU.

The Oldest Living Rangitane Chief in Manawatu.



THE MANAWATU GORGE.

Island, where he was disposed to settle. But he must have landed on a very barren part of the coast, for he declares he could find neither *punga* nor *wheki* trees with which to build a house, and therefore he abandoned the intention of settling in such an ungenerous country, and set sail for the west. It was while upon this cruise that he crossed the bar of the Manawatu River, and paddled up its wide reaches and tortuous bends. Here he found a land that was good to look upon, for his practiced eye soon detected the richness of the soil, the luxuriance of the forest, and the frequency of the minor streams across which the tribe could build its eel weirs. There was also an abundance of bird life, and the trees were laden with tawa, mamaku, and whinau berries, which hung temptingly upon the bending branches. The country was, according to Maori conceptions, a veritable *cornucopia*, and Moses did not gaze upon the Promised Land from the heights of Pisgah with greater satisfaction than Whatonga felt in contemplating the Manawatu. In fact, so pleased was he with its prospects, that he could not refrain from contrasting it with the wilderness he had just left on the other Island, and wrapping his ideas in the form of a proverb, he called it

Taperenui-o-Whatonga, which signifies "the great supply of food for the chief."

But Whatonga was not enamoured of the district merely because it seemed to provide all that was necessary to satisfy human needs, for there was another circumstance, equally important, which had not escaped his notice. This was the ease with which the country might be conquered. Although sparsely populated, the Manawatu could not be regarded as an empty land when Whatonga came to it, for already the Ngatimamoe and Ngatiara peoples had their *pas* in many pleasant spots along the banks of the river. But they were neither numerous nor powerful, and possessed little of that aggressive spirit which regarded a year without a fight as a year wasted. Such gardens as they had they tended with care, and for the rest they passed their time in fishing, snaring birds, and in amusements of the simple character which primitive minds devise. They were, however, neither trained for nor inclined to war, and Whatonga saw with the keen eye of a conqueror, that they could not long withstand the shock of a well-delivered attack. He accordingly made up his mind that this should be his future home, and that here he would rest,

free from the gibes and irritating jeers of the "shiny she-devil" he had left at Heretaunga. One obstacle, however, still intervened, for he realised that the force with him was by no means numerous enough to successfully carry out his scheme of conquest and colonisation. Reinforcements must be obtained, but how this was to be effected was a problem not easy of solution. Whatonga only knew of the one way to reach his old settlement, and that was by an arduous and dangerous canoe journey round the coast, which would, moreover, involve the return of the whole party, for every man was required to work the canoe.

But there was one point on which Whatonga was definitely decided, and that was that he would not return and risk another fiery lecture from his turbulent wife, which he probably felt he well deserved. Then there was the possibility that if his party returned without their chief, the people at Heretaunga would not consent to leave, or permit them to go back to the new country, and if so Whatonga's last predicament would be infinitely worse than the first. After much debate the sea route was abandoned as impracticable, and the hopes of the party were turned in another direction. By cautious questioning and diplomatic enquiry, they learned from the resident natives that there existed a passage between the Tararua

and Ruahine Ranges, through which men could come and canoes could be brought. Information of such a welcome character was soon applied to good purpose, and Whatonga determined to despatch his messengers to the tribe by this Appian Way, which opposed his course with none of those difficulties so formidable in the sea voyage.

With immediate despatch the ambassadors were selected and started on their mission. Upon their arrival at Heretaunga, they proclaimed in glowing terms the advantages of the wonderful country they had discovered, pictured its beauties in figurative language, and appealing to the warlike spirit of their ancestors, invited the fighting men of the tribe to follow their chief in the conquest of a new home. To this appeal the younger men readily responded, and before long a force of no mean proportions was ranged under the command of a chief named Te Whakahiku. This gentleman, we are told, was stimulated to participate in the adventure partly because he favoured the policy of expansion, but chiefly because he was "meat hungry," and longed for a feast of that sweetest of all meats, a joint of human flesh. This he soon obtained, for his warriors were not long before they came into conflict with the intervening

tribes, with whom several desperate and bloody battles were fought.

One which took place at Umutaoroa,* near Dannevirke, is preserved as a memorable episode in Rangitane history, for the Ngati-mamoe were met and defeated with enormous slaughter. At the end of the day the warriors of Te Whakahiku prepared to enjoy the fruits of their bravery, and they had already excavated a huge circular oven in which the bodies of the slain were to be roasted; even the fire was lighted, but the wood was green, and before the oven could be made sufficiently hot for the reception of the bodies, the Ngati-mamoe returned with reinforcements and renewed the attack with such vigour and determination that the ground lost in the morning was regained before the next sun-rise. The invading force then made their way towards the south, but as news of their coming would no doubt have been carried to the people of Manawatu, in order to avoid the possibility of an ambush in the Gorge, they continued their march to the southward, and then struck across the ranges somewhere in the vicinity of what is now the Pahiatua track. Their arrival by this route was a complete surprise to the resident people, who at first showed a disposition to resent the invasion, but were

* Slow cooking oven.

met with an equally strong determination on the part of the newcomers not to be driven out while a man remained to fight.

As a result many battles were fought on the plain, in which Whatonga and Te Whakahiku met the full strength of the Ngatimamoe, Ngatiara, and Ngatihotu tribes. Although sometimes tainted with the bitterness of defeat, these conflicts generally contributed to the *mana* of the Rangitane warriors, who gradually made their position so secure that their expulsion became a matter of impossibility. Realising the inevitable, and having grown weary of the continuous strife, the Ngatimamoe at last sued for peace, which they confirmed by surrendering a large portion of their lands to the followers of Whatonga, who thus secured a permanent abode in the district.

Immediately upon this acknowledgement of their superiority, the Rangitane warriors made preparations for the removal of their wives and families from Hawke's Bay, and *pas* were built at various points along the river bank for their reception. The accession to their ranks which then followed practically sealed the fate of the Manawatu, for the people at Here-taunga, hearing of their friends' success, swarmed through the Gorge in such numbers

as to more than ever menace the position of the Ngatimamoe.

With the coming of the women and children the social side of the tribe's life was cultivated with energy. Old families were re-united, and new ones were established by the giving in marriage of the young people. Even Whatonga, it is said, was not discouraged by his former matrimonial experiences, and took unto himself another wife, named Reretua, who, we have every reason to believe, was a more fortunate choice than his first.

The people thus became closely identified with the soil, but an event was soon to occur which gave them undisputed possession. The truce between the original inhabitants and the invaders remained unbroken for several years, and as a means of strengthening the peace, which was so desirable to both, a proposal was made by which a Rangitane maiden of high degree, named Whaka-Rongatau, should be given in marriage to Houhiri, a Ngatiara warrior of equally aristocratic birth. The nuptial compact—which meant more than the union of mutual hearts, for it represented the friendly fusion of the two tribes—was blessed with the utmost domestic felicity until shortly after the first child was born. Then the tragedy took place which not only estranged

the husband and wife, but alienated for ever the tribes themselves.

The Ngatiara *pa*, to which Houhiri took his bride, was situated on the border of the Makurerua swamp, and here, in due time, the young people received a visit from Whaka-Rongatau's brother, Hauaerari. To all appearance the greatest friendship prevailed between the two chiefs, and it was not unusual to see them out on their fishing and hunting excursions together. No one was therefore surprised to see them leave the *pa* one morning on an eeling expedition to a neighbouring stream, but the fact that they did not both return was the subject of some comment. From what we know now, Houhiri, either treacherously, or as the result of a quarrel, killed Hauaerari, and to cover up his crime he stuffed the body into the eel baskets to make bait for the fish. His haul, under the circumstances, was an exceptionally good one, and when he returned to his home he was able to lay before his wife a particularly fine basket of eels. Whaka-Rongatau received her husband's contribution to the household larder with evident delight, but noticing that her brother had not returned, she made enquiries as to his whereabouts. None of the people in the *pa* had seen him, and all the satisfaction she could get from Houhiri was " I

have left him over yonder." There was, however, such a sense of vagueness about "over yonder," that she felt extremely nervous and anxious about Hauaerari's absence, a feeling which was by no means relieved when, on cutting open the eels to prepare them for the coming meal, she noticed that they were full of partially-digested food, which, upon closer examination, proved to be human flesh.

Quick as lightning her womanly instinct told her of the fate which had befallen her brother, and sick at the thought of it, and angry at the cruelty of her husband, she was unable to proceed with the preparation of the meal. But in the presence of so treacherous a man as Houhiri had proved to be, it was necessary that she should conceal her feelings, which she did with well-simulated delight at the prospect of the excellent repast which the eels would provide. Indeed, so enthusiastic did she pretend to be, that she thought it necessary to go and invite her other brothers, Whakahiku and Mangare, living in a neighbouring *pa*, to come and partake of it. In order, however, that her husband might have no reason to suppose that she suspected the true position of affairs, she instructed him to tell Hauaerari, when he arrived, where she had gone. Then taking her child with her, she made all haste to Te Whakahiku and

Mangare, to whom she related her fears that their brother had been murdered and thrown as bait to the eels by her husband.

No sooner had the chiefs heard her tale than they decided to attack the Ngatiara *pa*, and that vengeance might be worked with as little delay as possible, a strong war party was ordered to make ready that very night. At the same time it was deemed advisable not to arouse any suspicion or alarm in the minds of the Ngatiara, and so the woman was sent back to the *pa* of her husband with instructions how to proceed.

From such memories as are now retained by the natives, we learn that in the immediate vicinity of the Ngatiara *pa* there was a deep stream, which for defensive purposes was kept unbridged, and when Whaka-Rongatau returned she chose to approach it from a point at which there was no safe or convenient crossing. She thus stood helpless upon one side of the stream while her home was on the other, and in this self-imposed predicament she called out to her husband to come to her aid. When Houhiri appeared, she begged him to fall a tree and so form a bridge on which she might carry her child safely over. This the obliging husband did, but when the tree fell the scheming woman professed to be too timid to cross upon a single trunk, and entreated

him to fall another. But two trees were almost as useless for her purpose as one, and by pleading that the life of her child was too precious to risk upon so narrow a footway, she ultimately succeeded in getting sufficient trees thrown across the stream to form a fairly wide bridge, and then with well-feigned fear she ventured to tread the road that was to lead to the *pa*'s destruction. At nightfall the Rangitane war party left their *pa* under the leadership of Te Whakahiku and Mangare, and stealthily crept down to Tokomaru, where there were then three settlements of the Ngatiara people. During the early portion of the night Whaka-Rongatau only pretended to be asleep, and when she felt that in accordance with their pre-arranged plan her friends must be drawing near to the walls of the *pa*, she began to slyly pinch her child to make it restless and troublesome. Then she would proceed to soothe it back to slumber, and so soon as she had hushed it to sleep she would pinch it again until once more the *whare* was in a state of tears and tribulation. As baby Houhiri had a pair of very lusty lungs, these repeated outbursts of weeping interfered to such an extent with the paternal rest that his father lost his temper, and ordered Whaka-Rongatau to take the child outside and let him cry his head off if he felt so disposed. This was exactly what the wily woman

desired, and so she not unwillingly arose and left her faithless husband in his last sleep.

No sooner had Whaka-Rongatau passed out into the night air, than she made straight for the wall of the *pa*, where she began to sing a lullaby to her baby, in which she cleverly contrived to convey to her brothers, who were now lying in the surrounding forest, directions as to where the gates of the *pa* were. By a skilful use of rhyme and metaphor she also gave them to understand that if they went to the southward they would there find the foot-bridge which she had beguiled Houhiri into throwing across the stream, and over which the whole war party might pass without the risk of alarming the sleeping Ngatiara. Swiftly and silently the instructions of the chieftainess were obeyed, part of the attacking force, under Te Whakahiku, preparing to assault the northern gate, while another detachment swept round to the southward ready to storm the palisade on the opposite side.

At a given signal the attack was commenced by Mangare, whose warriors scaled the high wall on the side made vulnerable by the stratagem of Whaka-Rongatau. Into the houses of the sleepers these death dealers sprang, and soon the noise of slaughter roused such as were not already among the dead. Hither and thither these rushed in the wildest

confusion, not knowing from what point the thunderbolt had come, or where to go to escape it. At last some of them reached the northern gate and flung it open, but they were instantly met by the warriors of Te Whakahiku, who now swept into the *pa* like the blast of a withering wind, and being thus assaulted from two quarters the surprised and defenceless Ngatiara were soon a beaten and broken people.

Not satisfied with the capture of Tokomaru, the victorious Rangitane immediately proceeded to surprise and attack the two other Ngatiara *pas* in the vicinity of the Makurerua swamp, and in the struggles which preceded their capture the Ngatiara lost the flower of their tribe, and sustained an injury to their *mana* which they never recovered.

The twinkling maize-field rustled on the shore ;
And while that spot, so wild and lone and fair,
A look of glad and innocent beauty wore,
And peace was on the earth and in the air,
The warrior struck the blow, and bound his captive there :
Not unavenged—the foemen, from the wood,
Beheld the deed, and when the midnight shade
Was stillest, gorged his battleaxe with blood.
All died—the wailing babe—the shrieking maid—
And in the flood of light that scathed the glade,
The roofs went down ; but deep the silence grew,
When on the dewy woods the day beam played ;
No more the *whare* smoke rose wreathed in blue,
And never by the lake lay moored the light canoe.

As might be expected so important a victory was celebrated by a great feast, and for the

next few days the ovens were kept hot for the reception of the dead bodies, which as fast as they were cooked were served up with all the horrors attendant upon the savage orgies and cannibal banquets of the ancient Maori.

Nor did the work of extermination begun by the Rangitane tribe end with the avenging of Hauaerari's death, but they assiduously pursued their policy of aggression upon the Ngatiara settlements further south, and for this purpose they were occasionally on the warpath for months together. This militant spirit, however, cost the tribe the lives of their two leading chiefs, for Te Whakahiku and Mangare were soon afterwards killed in a battle at Reporoa, near Horowhenua, whither they had gone to attack a chief named Autupaoa.

Although victorious on this occasion, Ngatiara were soon sorely pressed, for the Rangitane, being thoroughly roused against them, sent to Hawke's Bay for reinforcements, and these being readily supplied by the parent tribe, the superior numbers told heavily against their less vigorous opponents, who were gradually forced from one stronghold to another, until they finally sheltered on the Island of Kapiti, leaving their old home to become in name and in fact the land of the Rangitane.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND CONQUEST.

With fire and sword the country round,
Was wasted far and wide,
And many a childing mother then,
And new-born infant died.
But things like that, you know, must be,
At every famous victory.

With the conquest of the Manawatu, the Rangitane people began to extend their dominions both to the northward and eastward, and for this purpose war parties were frequently crossing the Tararua Ranges to attack the tribes whose homes were in the Forty Mile Bush ; or these *tauas* would travel through the Gorge and resume their conflicts with the natives of Hawke's Bay. Thus in time their tribal lands stretched from the mouth of the Manawatu River to its source, and included what are now known as the Pahiatua and Dannevirke districts. As a result of that restless and migratory spirit which was responsible for spreading the Maori over the whole of the North Island, the

Rangitane were not long in undisputed possession of the Manawatu before they were flanked on either hand by a set of new neighbours. Both the Ngatiapa and Muaupoko people, who had sailed with Turi in the Aotea canoe, hearing of the Rangitane success, came and settled near them, the former occupying the country drained by the Rangitikei River, while the Muaupoko wedged themselves in further south, and built their *pas* around the beautiful Horowhenua Lake.

The Rangitane people at this time were fairly numerous, and so far as the traditions still retained by them enlighten us, they appeared to live on friendly terms with these contiguous natives, to whom they were more or less related. Their principal settlements within the confines of the Manawatu were at Hotuiti, between Shannon and Foxton, where there is a small lake, upon the shores of which their *pas* were built. There were also large settlements at Tokomaru and Te Paparema hard by, while near Oroua Bridge there were two others amongst the sand hills called Raewera and Puke-totara. On the banks of the Manawatu there was a *pa* at Tiakitahuna,* and another called Te Kuri-paka, which stood on the Fitzherbert hills directly opposite Awapuni. To the

* Anglicised into the not very euphemistic name of Jackeytown.



ERENI TE AWE AWE.
A Rangitane Chieftainess.



SITE OF THE OLD RAUKAWA PA.
Near Ashurst.

northward there was a *pa* called Te Motu-a-Potoa, erected upon the crest of the hill over which the Cliff Road now passes, and yet another at Te Wi, while out upon the plain there was a settlement at Te Awahuri, where the Ngati-tumotari *hapu* of the Ngatiapa tribe lived.

These were all strongly fortified *pas*, and were the permanent residences of the people and places of refuge whither the tribesmen flew in time of trouble. Other smaller and less secure settlements were, however, scattered over the plain, to which it was the custom of a section of the tribe to go at the various seasons to collect food for immediate consumption, as well as that portion which a provident spirit tempted them to store for future use. Thus the little Raukawa *pa*, near Ashhurst, was the favourite resort when the hinau berries were to be gathered, Taonui was the objective of the eeling expeditions, and Kairanga the happy hunting ground of those who went in search of rats and birds.*

These various *pas* were of course ruled by their respective chiefs, and at the date of the second conquest of the Manawatu, the

* The native rat was an important item in the commissariat of the ancient Maori, and the tribe that had a flourishing rat farm upon its lands was considered extremely fortunate. These rats have, however been quite driven out by the more recently imported rodent from Norway. The birds which were caught chiefly in the Kairanga, were the *haka* and *hakafo*.

dominant men amongst the Rangitane people were Toki-poto, whose centre of jurisdiction was at Hotuiti, near Foxton; Te Hiaro, who was lord at Tokomaru, and at Te Paparewa; Te Awe Awe, and Tamata te Panau, who were of equal rank at Raewera and Puke-totara *pas*, while at Te Kuri-paka, A-o-Kautire was the recognised chief, and he also exercised some authority at the *pa* above the Cliff Road. The *pa* occupied by Ngati-tumotari *hapu* at Te Awahuri seems to have been a somewhat isolated settlement, and quite out of touch with the chain of river forts, but it was established because a peculiar bend in the Oroua River made the spot a favourite eeling ground, and in its civil and military affairs it acknowledged the chieftainship of a Ngatiapa warrior named Ngarangi-Katuha.

These were the men who had to stand at the head of the tribe during the dark days which followed the year 1822, when the foot of the invader was upon the land, for it was then that Te Rauparaha, the famous Ngatitoa chief, came out of the north, leading his people from Kawhia, as Moses led the children of Israel away from the toils of Pharaoh. To these northern warriors, who were being forced from their ancestral homes, the coast-line from Whanganui to Kapiti was

a veritable Land of Promise, and they were observant enough to see that it required only a brave heart and a quick hand to make it their own. Next to the coming of the Rangitane people, no event in Maori history has been fraught with such epoch-making issues to this coast as the invasion by the Ngatitoo, and as it is from this period that we begin to get the authentic historical data of the district, it will be necessary to give the reader an intelligent conception of the causes which led up to the great march of Te Rauparaha. To this end, the limits of the Manawatu must for the moment be forsaken, and our attention transported to the country around the harbour of Kawhia, where the Ngatitoo people had dwelt since Hoturoa, their ancestor, landed from the canoe Tainui. Their domain, which extended from Kawhia Bay to Mokau River, has been described by early travellers as an extremely beautiful and romantic-looking country. At full tide the harbour shines in the sunlight like an unbroken sheet of silver, in which the green and gold reflections of the surrounding bush are mirrored and magnified. For many miles in length and breadth the tide runs inland from its bar-bound mouth, reaching with its liquid arms right to the base of the mountains which encircle the harbour like a massive frame. Rugged and picturesque are these mountains,

with their cloak of deep green bush, through which huge masses of limestone rock protrude their white faces with such forceful appearance as to resemble the bastions of some old Norman tower, covered with gigantic ivy, and so marked is this resemblance that the character of the peaks has been preserved in their name—the Castle Hills.

Down the sides of these slopes there run innumerable streams, the largest being the Awaroa River, which enters the harbour at the north-east end, where the scenery culminates in its most impressive aspect. A little to the northward of Kawhia lies the valley of the Waipa, and between this district and the harbour stands "an ancient and dilapidated volcano" called Pirongia, upon which the evening sun directs its blood-red darts, lighting up its many peaks and towers until they resemble a huge altar raised by the hand of some mighty priest. The climate, too, is mild and soft, like that of southern Spain, and we are told that there the orange and the lemon might blossom and bud with all the luxuriance found in the valleys of Granada.

This was the home of the Ngatitoa, and immediately adjacent to them were the Ngati-raukawa, Ngatimaniapoto, and Ngatikowhata tribes, all of whom claimed common descent from Hoturoa. With these people, therefore,

the Ngatitoa were on friendly terms, and they freely aided each other in the wars of offence and defence in which they were frequently engaged with the Waikato and other tribes.

So long as both sides were fighting with their native weapons the Ngatitoa and their allies were able to hold their own, and sometimes more than hold their own against tribal enemies, but towards the time when Te Rauparaha began to rise into fame as a warrior, a great change was coming over the system of native warfare. The whalers who made the Bay of Islands their rendezvous, had introduced the musket amongst the Ngapuhi in exchange for pigs and flax, and crude and uncertain as these weapons were, they created such consternation amongst the inland people, who still clung to their wooden spears and stone clubs, that the power of those who possessed these "fire spears" was simply invincible. The Waikato tribes, seeing the destructive power of these guns, had made strenuous and successful efforts to arm themselves with a few, and under Te Wherowhero and Te Waharoa they also began to sweep their tribal enemies from off the face of the land.

As the whalers frequented only the east coast of Auckland, the tribes who had access to them possessed an enormous advantage

over all others, and this fact did not escape the observation of Te Rauparaha, who was quick enough to see that when the time came, as come it must, that the Waikatos thought fit to attack him and his people in satisfaction for many an old grudge, the day would go hard with the Ngatitoa, owing to the superiority of their opponents' armament. While pondering over the position, and wondering what its probable outcome would be, an event occurred which gave the chief unexpected relief. This was the arrival at Kawhia of that picturesque figure in Maori history, Tamati Waka Nene, whose influence and eloquence were subsequently so powerfully used in promoting the Treaty of Waitangi. Tamati, on this occasion, was proceeding southward, with his brother, Patuone, on a mission which had no particular object except the killing and eating of a few of their enemies, and as the occasion was full of immediate and prospective possibilities, Te Rauparaha readily accepted their cordial invitation to accompany them. The operations of the war party against the Ngatiruanui, of Taranaki, need not concern us, beyond the general statement that the guns which the northerners carried contributed enormously to their success. The resident people were everywhere defeated, and those who were not killed, captured, or eaten, were driven into

the mountain fastnesses, there to miserably survive if they could, or as miserably perish if they could not.

After disposing of the Taranaki tribes, the march of the *taua* down the coast was one of uninterrupted victory. The tribes who had the courage to oppose them in open battle were hopelessly beaten, and those who deemed discretion the better part of valour were pursued as far as it was safe to follow them. Retreat was the policy adopted by the Ngatiapa, of Rangitikei, who hastily retired to the mountains the moment Waka Nene and Te Rauparaha appeared within their territory. Such of them, however, who did not succeed in escaping, or who were unaware of the presence of an enemy, were caught and killed, and the whole country was overrun, and left practically at the mercy of the invaders.

Of this hostile descent upon the coast the Rangitane people declare that they, secure in their mountain fastnesses, heard nothing until the arrival of the war party at Otaki. Thither some of the children of Toki-poto had gone on a visit to their friends, and there they met the redoubtable Te Rauparaha, who enquired of them the whereabouts of their people, and the number and strength of their *pas*. The patronising and fatherly

demeanour which this artful barbarian could assume* when his ends were better served by the concealment of his true purpose, completely won the confidence of the lads, and in their innocence of what manner of man he was to whom they were confiding the secrets of the tribe, they readily told him all that he wished to know.

When the desired information was obtained, some of Te Rauparaha's followers proposed, as a precaution against the frustration of their plans, that the children should be killed, but Te Rauparaha, more far-seeing than they, interposed, for he had not yet exhausted their usefulness.

In the depths of his cunning, he had conceived the idea of making the children of Toki-poto the instruments by which that chief would be delivered into Ngatitoa hands. Accordingly, he resisted the demand for their blood, saying "No, let them alone, they are only children. Rather let us go and take Toki-poto out of the stern of the canoe." This was Te Rauparaha's expressive method of conveying to his warriors that he sought a more valuable trophy than the life of a child, and had resolved on no less a scheme than the assault of the Hotuiti

* The Hon. J. W. Barnicoat, who knew Te Rauparaha well, has assured the writer that when it suited him the wily chief could "lend a most angelic expression to his countenance

pa. To Mahuri, the eldest son of Toki-poto, he then turned, and in dulcet tones he said, "Go to your father, I will see him."

Accompanied by the Ngatitoa warriors and their leader, the lad led the way to a small lake *pa* at Hotuiti, whither Toki-poto had gone from his main settlement on the banks of the Manawatu. The *pa* itself was built upon one of the many miniature islets which dot the face of the lake, and while Rauparaha with his followers lurked in the bush which fringed the water's edge, he sent the unsuspecting Mahuri to tell his father that Te Rauparaha wished to talk with him. The first thought to arise in the mind of the Rangitane chief was one of suspicion, and he at once exclaimed, "No, I will not go. I shall be slain." The boy, into whose good graces, Te Rauparaha had completely wormed himself, ridiculed these fears, and urged upon his father to go. To these entreaties Toki-poto at length yielded, and, taking a few of his people with him, went in his canoe, unarmed, to welcome the visitor.

Scarce had they reached the edge of the wood before they were set upon by the secreted warriors, and in the massacre which followed, for there could be no battle where only one side was armed, the chief and a number of his followers were killed, while the

remainder, with the exception of two, were taken prisoners. These two more fortunate ones were Mahuri, the innocent cause of the disaster, and Te Awe Awe, the father of the well-known family who still reside upon the Rangitane lands in the Manawatu. Side by side with Toki-poto there fell that day another chief named Te Maraki, whose greenstone *mere*, a weapon famous in the annals of the tribe, was buried on the scene of the conflict by the mourning people, and there it remained hidden for sixty odd years, until it was discovered in 1882.

Strange to say, Te Rauparaha did not press the advantage thus gained, by attacking the *pā*, but contented himself with carrying his prisoners off to Otaki, where he rejoined Waka Nene, and proceeded in his raid of bloodshed as far as the Wairarapa.

We need not dwell on the defeat of the Ngatikahungunu people there, when the Tawhare Nikau *pā* fell before the Ngatitoa assault, nor do the sickening details of the cannibal gorge which followed for three days, concern us. It will be sufficient for our purpose to note that when the victorious warriors returned to the coast, they remained for a few days at Omere, to rest, and while there the eagle eye of Waka Nene descried a whaler in full sail beating through Cook

Strait. To the quick intellect of the chief the sight of the ship opened up in an instant an entirely new vista, for he knew what intercourse with the *pakeha* had done for the Ngapuhi, and he saw no reason why the same advantages should not be shared by his friend and ally, Te Rauparaha.

Doubtless that chief had confided his fears to Waka Nene, and they had probably consulted long and anxiously as to the growing weakness of the former's position at Kawhia. When, therefore, Tamati beheld the passing ship, he saw at a glance that if this part of the coast was frequented by vessels of the white man, it offered the same facilities for obtaining arms and ammunition which Hongi enjoyed at the Bay of Islands. With unrestrained excitement he called out to his comrade, "Oh Raha, do you see that people sailing on the sea? They are a very good people, and if you conquer this land and hold intercourse with them, you will obtain guns and powder and become very great." This optimistic little speech was apparently all that was required to confirm Te Rauparaha in his growing decision to cross the Rubicon, by migrating with the whole of his people from the storm-threatened Kawhia, and when the war party turned their faces towards home, it was with the full resolve

to come back at the first convenient season to make the country their own.

The homeward journey was characterised by the same ruthless behaviour towards the resident people which had been practised on the way down, those who were captured being killed and eaten without any unnecessary ceremony.

What occurred within the confines of the Manawatu we do not know, because the present day representatives of the Rangitane people declare that they saw and heard nothing of the invaders. As they proceeded further north, however, we hear more of them, for while in the Rangitikei district an incident took place which it suited the Ngatiapa people not to forget. In one of the many excursions made into the interior in search of victims a young chieftainess named Pikinga was captured by a party of Te Rangihaeata's men. Pikinga was the sister of Arapata Hiria, the chief against whom Waka Nene and Te Rauparaha were operating at the moment, and if the gossip of the day is to be believed, she was possessed of no mean personal charms. She at least was captivating enough to turn the tables upon her captors, by showing that Cupid's darts were more effective than the Maori *mere*, for it was not long before Rangihaeata fell a victim to her charms,

and made her his wife. Whether this was merely a passing whim on the part of the amorous young warrior, or a move in a much deeper game of diplomacy, it would be difficult to say at this distance of time, particularly as each tribe now imputes to a different motive the action of the chief. The Ngatiapa claim, with absurd insistence, that the marriage was the expression and bond of perpetual peace between them and Te Rauparaha; while the Ngatiraukawa, to whose lot it fell some fifty years later to contest the point, contend that no such construction could be put upon this addition to Rangihaeata's household, and that if it involved the tribes in a treaty of friendship at the time, the compact was subsequently denounced by Te Rauparaha on account of the treachery of the Ngatiapa.

It is quite within the region of possibility that Te Rauparaha, having regard to the political aspect of the situation, would lead the Ngatiapa people to believe, so soon as he had measured their strength, that he desired to cultivate their goodwill, because immediately he had determined to seize the country opposite Kapiti, he would perceive the wisdom of having some friendly tribe stationed between him and his northern enemies, upon whom he could rely to withstand the first shock of battle in the event

of a Waikato invasion. Such tactics would not be foreign to the Ngatitoa leader, for that part of his life which was not spent in battle was mainly occupied in the development of schemes whereby the efforts of one tribe were neutralised by the counter efforts of another, and if he could make pawns of the Ngatiapa he would chuckle to himself and say "Why not?"

But it must not be supposed that Te Rauparaha would seriously contemplate anything in the way of a permanent peace with the Ngatiapa, or with anyone else whom he felt strong enough to destroy, and even assuming that he encouraged them in the belief that Rangihaeata's devotion to Pikinga was a common bond between them, he would not dream of maintaining such an understanding a moment longer than it suited his purpose. It seems, therefore, more likely that when Te Rauparaha satisfied himself that the Rangitikei people were no match for his own warriors, and that he could subdue them at his leisure, he was at some pains to impress them with his magnanimity, but only because he desired to use them as a buffer between himself and the Waikatos. For this purpose he probably appeared to attach more importance to the marriage of his lieutenant than he really did, for years

afterwards, when he felt secure against invasion, he repudiated any friendship with the Ngatiapa, and ordered his people to wage eternal warfare against them.

The claim which the Ngatiapa people subsequently made to the land in the Manawatu-Rangitikei districts, on the ground that they were never conquered by the Ngatitoa, because this marriage protected them from conquest, was therefore not well founded, the by no means unusual circumstance of a chief taking a captive woman to be his slave wife being invested with a significance which it did not deserve.

After this happy event, the war party, laden with spoil and prisoners, made their way back to the north, and when they reached Kawhia, Waka Nene took his leave of Te Rauparaha, and Te Rauparaha prepared to take his leave of the land of his fathers. When the usual period of feasting and enjoyment, which invariably followed upon the return of a successful war party, had terminated, Te Rauparaha set himself systematically to the task of persuading his people to enter into the spirit of the scheme over which he had become so enthusiastic, and which he deemed so necessary for their safety. The task was by no means a simple one, for the impending danger was not so apparent to all the tribe

as it was to their chief, and moreover there centred in the spot which he was asking them to leave, the traditions and associations of a hundred years. They knew each nook and corner, from the caves to the hill-tops, every point of which spoke to them of the beloved past. Here a rock which had been a trysting place in some tragic love affair; there a haunt of spirits; yonder a burying ground made sacred by the bones of their ancestors; and there again a battle field whereon their friends had been slain. Each of these was a tie dear indeed to the Maori, and they were naturally loth to leave all that linked them to the past when the future to which they were invited was so full of doubt and uncertainty.

But the confidence which Te Rauparaha had inspired by his prowess as a warrior and the prospect of guns and ammunition, gradually overcame their more sentimental objections, and before long the Ngatitoa people agreed to follow their chief whithersoever he might lead. Te Rauparaha was, however, prudent enough to recognise that his own section of the tribe, though brave at heart, were few in numbers for so serious an undertaking as the conquest of a new territory. As soon, therefore, as he had secured the consent of his own tribe, he paid a visit to Mungatautari, for the purpose



TE RAUPARAH.



KEREOPA TUKUMARU.

*A Ngatiraukawa Chief, whose beautiful tomb may be
seen from the railway at Kereru.*

of obtaining the co-operation of the Ngatiraukawa. With them he was no more successful at first than he had been with his own people, for although he pointed out their liability to attack, the difficulty in obtaining guns, and the prospect, if they joined him, of an easy victory over the weakened tribes of the coast, they were reluctant to give up all that they possessed for what they might not be able to conquer, and it was not till quite a year later that he was able to break down their resistance.

In pressing his proposals upon the Ngatiraukawa, he was materially aided by a somewhat romantic incident which occurred during his stay at Mungatautari. Although by birth Te Rauparaha could claim chieftainship in the ranks of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, he was not a particularly brilliant star in their peerage, owing to certain blemishes in his pedigree, due to the marriage of some of his ancestors with women of common breeding, and members of other tribes. At the same time, what he lacked in aristocratic blood he more than compensated for in mental initiative and personal courage. Conscious of his own power, he never lost an opportunity of impressing it upon others, and it is therefore not a matter for surprise that he made the death of the Ngatiraukawa

chief the occasion for advancing his own claims to leadership.

Thus, it was a fortunate circumstance for him that while he was advocating the conquest of Kapiti, Hape Tuarangi, the great chief of Mungatautari, was seized with a fatal illness, and while the whole tribe sat in a circle around the death-bed, waiting for the old man's spirit to pass away, the question of succession seemed to trouble him, for he probably realised the absence of a master mind amongst his own sons. To them he put the question, "Can you tread in my steps and lead my people on to victory? Can you uphold the honour of the tribe?" To these interrogations not one of his sons replied, and the silence remained unbroken until Te Rauparaha, springing from the ring of warriors, exclaimed, "I am able to tread in your steps, and even do that which you could not do."

The apparent presumption of this speech was lost in the general satisfaction given by the prospect of being led by so promising a chief, and when Hape passed into the Great Beyond, Rauparaha took over his wives and his leadership, the latter of which he retained to his dying day. This position, however, did not give him the sole direction of Ngatiraukawa affairs, for the tribe still

looked to their natural chiefs for guidance in domestic matters, so that while the new influence which Te Rauparaha gained in their councils by his selection as military leader was considerable, it was not sufficient to turn the scales completely in his favour. But nothing daunted by the refusal of his kinsmen to venture on the execution of his bold conception, Te Rauparaha proceeded with patient deliberation to make his own arrangements. These involved the most careful planning and delicate negotiation, for failure in any one direction might wreck the whole scheme. The first consideration was to secure safe conduct for his people through the territory of the Taranaki tribes, and the establishment of resting places where the very old and very young could recover their strength, and where sufficient food could be grown to carry them on to the next point of stoppage.

To this end negotiations were entered into with the Ngatiawa chiefs, who were more or less connected with Ngatitōa by inter-marriage. The concessions which Te Rauparaha asked for were finally granted, but he could no more persuade the Ngatiawa to go with him than he could impress the Ngatiraukawa, and when he reminded them of the change that was coming over the

system of warfare and the weakened nature of their position when he and his people were removed, they laughed at his fears, boasted of their ancient *mana*, and told him his proposals were altogether unworthy of a chief of his standing. How bitterly they paid for their lack of foresight is told in the fall of Puke Rangiora, a few years later, when the Waikatos swept down upon them, and drove them fugitives into the arms of the man whose counsel they had despised. Having thus diplomatically arranged an open road for the passage of his people to the south, it then became just as essential that they should be allowed to depart unmolested from the north. Te Rauparaha therefore appreciated the necessity of making terms with his old enemy Te Wherowhero, of Waikato, and with this object he utilised the services of two Ngatimaniapoto chiefs, who occupied the country to the north of Kawhia, and who were on friendly terms with Te Wherowhero.

These chiefs paved the way for a conference, at which Rauparaha appears to have been unusually candid with his old antagonist. He frankly unfolded to him the details of his proposed migration, and in consideration of Te Wherowhero's guaranteeing him immunity from attack, he agreed

to cede the whole of the Ngatitoa lands to the Waikato tribe after his people had vacated them. Such easy acquisition of so valuable a piece of country was not without its influence upon Te Wherowhero, but he did not prize it so much because it would afford scope for his tribe to extend their cultivations as because the migration of the Ngatitoa would rid him of a troublesome enemy on the west, and enable him to concentrate all his forces on his eastern frontier, where he would be the better able to oppose the aggressions of that other remarkable figure in Maori history, Te Wahoroa.

On the understanding, then, that Kawhia was to be formally ceded to him, Te Wherowhero undertook not to molest the migrating tribe, either during their preparations or on the actual march. The question of immunity from attack having been thus satisfactorily disposed of, the next matter which Te Rau-paraha had to consider was the securing of an adequate supply of provisions for his people during their pilgrimage. As it was impossible to complete the journey in one season, it was necessary not only that large quantities should be carried with them, but it was imperative that planting places should be established at various points along the

route, where these supplies could be renewed from time to time. None of these details were overlooked, and if the smoothness and precision with which these precautions dovetailed together counts for anything, then we must conclude that the foresight displayed by Te Rauparaha was of no mean order.

As a final preparation it was necessary that the disposition of his fighting men should receive some attention, because he could not hope to conceal his real purpose from the people whose country he was about to invade. It is true that he did not anticipate any serious opposition, because the defeats inflicted upon them by the expedition under Waka Nene and himself had so reduced their strength that this was impossible, but in view of the limited force at his command, it was necessary to use it to the best advantage. He therefore divided his one hundred and seventy warriors into suitable sections, and appointing a chief to lead each company, he retained the supreme direction of affairs in his own hands.

The completion of these varied preparations had occupied fully two years, and when they were so far advanced that he felt it safe to commence the exodus, he paid a last visit to the surrounding tribes, bidding them good-bye, and as an inducement for them

not to break their promises to protect him, he kept his own to Te Wherowhero, saying to that chief, "Farewell! remain on our land at Kawhia; I am going to take Kapiti for myself; do not follow me."

When at Mungatautari, a final effort was made to induce the Ngatiraukawa to join him, but although there were evidences of weakening resistance, Te Rauparaha had still to wait several months before their objections were in a measure overcome. The tour of leave-taking at an end, Te Rauparaha returned to his *pa* at Te Arawi, and there summoned his people to prepare for the fateful march. When all was ready the blazing flax-stick was put to the walls of the great carved house* which had adorned the *pa*, and as the smoke of its destruction arose like incense to heaven, the whole tribe of four hundred souls passed through the gate which they were never again to enter.

No record has been preserved of the exact day and date on which this historic event occurred,† but tradition tells us that the circumstances under which the migration was commenced were singularly auspicious. The day broke with a cloudless sky, and as

* Called Te Urungu-Paraoa-a-te-Titi-Matama.

† So far as can be judged, by comparison with subsequent events, the migration took place about the beginning of the year 1820.

the sun rose into the blue dome, the landscape for miles was lit with the rosy tints of morn, rendering every peak and valley more beautiful and therefore more difficult to leave. On the route of march there lay the hill of Moeatoa, and to its summit the pilgrims climbed in order to take a last fond look at their ancient home. As they turned and gazed upon old Kawhia, the memories of the past came flocking back to them in quick pulsations, and it is easy to understand their manifestations of sorrow at leaving their ancestral domain.

Let not the conceited cynic to whom kind fortune has vouchsafed a birth beneath Christian skies, take to himself the false and flattering unction that the softer sentiments associated with home and country are the exclusive prerogative of civilised beings, for these people, savage and ruthless though they were, thrilled with the same patriotic feeling which prompted the Prophet of Israel to exclaim, "When I forget thee, O Jerusalem! may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and my right hand forget her cunning." And although their form of expressing it was neither so beautiful nor so poetical, they were nevertheless quite as sincere when they cried upon the mountain side, "Kawhia remain here! The people of

Kawhia are going to Kapiti, to Waipounamu."

"The love of a New Zealander for his land is not the love of a child for his toys," says a well-known writer.* "His title is connected with many and powerful associations in his mind, his affection for the homes of his fathers being connected with the deeds of their bravery, with the feats of their boyhood, and the long rest of his ancestors for generations," and there is no reason to suppose that these feelings were less active in the Ngatitoa than they were in other tribes. Therefore, when they looked back upon the glistening harbour with its sunny bays and beaches, the old cultivations in which they had worked, the houses in which they had lived, and in which their children had been reared, the mountains they had climbed, and the caves where their ancestors lay at rest, it is little wonder that they set up the mournful chant of lamentation, and when they had sung of Kawhia's beauties, its battles, and its braves, they turned with reluctant feet to the south and went out, leaving nothing but their tears behind them.

This closing scene in the life of the Ngatitoa at Kawhia has been beautifully described by Thomas Bracken, whose word

* John White; in his ancient history of the Maori.

picture of the scene on Moeatoa Hill is amongst the finest that came from his poetic pen.

Beneath the purple canopy of morn
That hung above Kawhia's placid sheet
Of waters crystalline, arose on high
The golden shield of God, on azure field,
With crimson tassels dipping in the sea !
And from its burnished face a shower of rays
Shot up the hills and gilt their spires and peaks
In lambent sheen, until the turrets seemed
Like precious ornaments of purest gold
On mighty altars raised by giant priests
In olden times, to offer sacred fire
As sacrifice unto the Fount of Light,
From whence the planets and the myriad stars
Drink their effulgence !

In the wild ravines
And gorges deep, the limpid babbling creeks
Sang matins as they left their mother hills
To mingle in united waters, where
They lost their little selves, and merged in one
Pellucid flood that gathered stronger life
From day to day ! as God's great human church,
Now building on the earth, shall gather all
The little sects and creeds and small beliefs
That split mankind into a thousand parts,
And merge them in one universal flood
Of boundless charity.

The dazzling points
Of morning's lances pierced the bursting hearts
Of all the flow'rets on the fertile slopes,
And waked red Kowhai's drops from sleep
And shook the dew buds from the Rata's lids,
Until its blossoms opened up their breasts
And gave their fragrance to the early breeze
That played amongst the Koromiko's leaves,
And stole the rich Tawhiri's sweet perfume,
And strung the flax-leaves into merry tune
To woo the Bell-bird from his nest, to ring
The Tui up to sing his morning hymns.
The scene was made for man, not savage man,
The cunningest of brutes, the crafty king

Of beasts ! but Man the Spiritualised,
With all the light of knowledge in his brain,
With all the light of love within his heart !
And yet they were but savages who stood
On Moeatua's hill, above the scene,
Mere savages, a step beyond the brute !
But still there were bright sparks of God-lit fire
Within their breasts ! they loved their native vales
With heart and soul ! for they had hearts and souls
Far nobler than some milk-faced races who
Have basked 'neath Calv'ry's sun for ages long,
And yet lie grov'ling in the nation's rear,
With hearts encased in earth too coarse and hard
For Calv'ry's glorious light to penetrate.
Poor savages that Orient had not yet
Shed its benignant rays upon their souls,
To melt the dross that dragged them down to earth
In carnal bonds ! they knew not yet the road
To reach the standard of their better selves.
Yet they were men in all save this ! brave men
With patriot's hearts, for as they stood and gazed
O'er fair Kawhia's hills and vales
That stretched into the sea, o'er which their aires
In ages past sailed from Hawaiki's shores,
The tears ran down their tattooed cheeks, and sobs
Welled from their bosoms, for they loved the land
With all the love intense a Maori feels
For childhood's home ! The hist'ry of their tribe
Was written there on every rock and hill
That sentinelled the scene, for these had known
Their deeds of prowess, and their father's deeds
Of valour ! And the caverns held the bones
Of those from whom they'd sprung ! Their legends wild,
And weird traditions, chained them to the place,
And ere they burst those links of love, they gave
A long sad look on each familiar spot
And wailed above Kawhia's lovely vale.

Oh ! Kawhia, remain,
Cavern, gorge, and bay,
Valley and hill and plain,
We are going away.

Oh ! Kawhia, remain,
Take our tears and our sighs,
Spirits of heroes slain
Rise up from Reinga, rise.

Oh ! Kawhia, remain,
With thee, Tawhaki, stay,
Long may he o'er thee reign—
We are going away.

The first stage of the journey was brought to a close at the end of the fourth day, when the *pa* at Puohoki was reached, and here Te Rauparaha determined upon leaving his wife Akau* and a number of the women and children, while he and his men pushed on as far as Waitara. Here they were most cordially received by the Ngatiawa and Ngatitama tribes, in whose *pas* they were quartered for the season. After the lapse of a suitable period Te Rauparaha determined on returning for his wife and her companions, and when he reached the *pa* where they were staying, he learned to his joy that Akau had borne him a son, who afterwards lived to be the well-known missionary chief Tamihana te Rauparaha.

Much against the advice of his tribe, Rauparaha had only taken a band of twenty warriors with him, and on the journey back his strategic abilities were tested to the full in order to evade annihilation by the superior force which opposed him. Hearing that he had left Kawhia, the restless Ngatimaniapoto, who had been his northern neighbours, crept down the coast in the hope of finding some

* Formerly the wife of Hape Tuarangi, chief of the Ngatiraukawa.

stragglers of his party whom they could put to death. Instead of meeting a few irregulars, they came upon Te Rauparaha himself near the mouth of the Mokau River. With only twenty men, and hampered by the women and children, the chief was at his wits' end to know how to circumvent the enemy, who, he feared, might cut off his retreat, and then attack him in force, when suddenly a brilliant idea struck him.

Before the enemy had approached within striking distance, Te Rauparaha ordered twenty of the most active women to disrobe and don the mats and head-gear of fighting men. Then arming each of them with a stone club, he placed them under the charge of Akau, who is described as a woman of magnificent physique, with instructions to march in the van, brandishing their weapons after the manner of veteran warriors.* The more helpless women and children were placed in the centre, while he and his fighting men covered the retreat.

* The tactics pursued by Te Rauparaha on this occasion are not without their parallel in English history. In 1797 a French force, under General Tate, invaded England, landing at Fishguard, in South Wales. They numbered about 1,400 men, and their operations were conducted so secretly that they were disembarked before the inhabitants were aware of their arrival. Lord Cawdor, the officer in charge of the district, had only a small force of yeomanry at his command, and a mob of irregulars armed with every conceivable form of weapon from a scythe to a fowling-piece. With these he marched out to oppose the invaders, and would probably have been annihilated, but for the appearance on the surrounding hills of a large number of Welsh women dressed in scarlet cloaks and beaver hats. They were kept manoeuvring about for over two hours, completely deceiving the French, who, believing them to be large reinforcements, sent a flag of truce to the English general, offering to surrender, which offer, needless to say, was accepted, and so ended the French invasion of 1797.

Misled by the stratagem, the Ngatimaniapoto were deceived into the belief that the Ngatitoa force was much stronger than it really was, and instead of attacking they began to retire. Observing their timidity, Te Rauparaha immediately accelerated their panic by charging down upon them, and in the skirmish which followed, Tutakara, their chief, was killed by a young relative of Te Rauparaha named Rangihoungariri, who was rapidly making a reputation for himself as a daring and intrepid warrior.

But although the position was relieved by the blow inflicted upon the enemy, Te Rauparaha felt that the danger was not over, for he was experienced enough to know that the Ngatimaniapoto would be tempted to return at nightfall and renew the attack in the hope of avenging the death of their chief. He therefore could not consider himself safe until the Mokau River was crossed; but unfortunately when they reached its banks the tide was full, and the stream in flood. Nothing, therefore, remained to be done except to wait, but in order to still maintain the deception twelve large fires were kindled, at each of which three women were stationed, while the remainder of the force lay at some distance watching for the returning enemy, who never came; for either having no

stomach for another encounter with so redoubtable a man as Te Rauparaha, or still not understanding the true position, they wisely declined to provoke a battle about the result of which they were by no means sanguine. At midnight the tide turned, and the river fell sufficiently to be fordable. Leaving their fires burning, the Ngatitoa crept silently down to its waters, and wading across made their way to the *pas* of their friends, which they reached safely amidst the general rejoicing of both tribes.

In the same way a raid by the Waikato chiefs, Te Wherowhero and Te Wahoroa, was shortly afterwards repulsed with considerable slaughter, but for some inexplicable reason Te Rauparaha did not pursue his victory to the bitter end, as he was wont to do. This clemency on his part is especially surprising, in view of the fact that Te Wherowhero had specifically promised to remain neutral during the progress of the migration. Possibly the consciousness that he would have done the same thing himself induced Te Rauparaha to take so lenient a view of his old antagonist's want of good faith, for there can be no doubt that the bloody wars which were at this time ravaging the country had completely sapped the sense of honour which formerly prevailed amongst

the chiefs. "At the period in question" (writes Mr. W. T. L. Travers in *The Life and Times of Te Rauparaha*) "more, perhaps, than during any other in the history of the race, moral consideration had but little weight in determining the conduct of either the individual or of the tribe. . . . Even the nearest relatives did not hesitate to destroy and devour each other." Under these circumstances Te Wherowhero's conduct was perhaps not surprising, and it certainly had the good effect of teaching him that Te Rauparaha was not a man to be trifled with, and from that day onward he left him severely alone.

But although he had beaten off both the Ngatimaniapoto and Waikato tribes, the position was still unsatisfactory to Te Rauparaha from the point of view of numbers, and so he resolved to make one more effort to persuade the Ngatiraukawa to join him. Accordingly he journeyed back to Maungatautari, where he met young Te Whatanui, a chief destined to become famous in after years as the protector of the people whom Te Rauparaha wished to destroy. Upon the assembled tribe, and upon Te Whatanui in particular, he again impressed the merits of his scheme, pointing out the altered nature of the position occupied by the tribes



IHAKARA TUKUMARU.
A Ngatiraukawa Chief.



TE RANGIRUPURU.

A Muauoko Chief.

who had managed to become possessed of fire-arms, as against that of those who had only wooden spears and stone *meres*. He dwelt upon the fact that ships were beginning to frequent Kapiti, and that there they could obtain guns, as the Ngapuhi had done at the Bay of Islands. He also reiterated all that he had formerly told them about the fertility of the soil, and the ease with which the country might be conquered, but in vain. Te Whatanui gave no sign of approval, and the majority of his people objected because they would then come under Te Rauparaha's immediate command, to the exclusion of their own chiefs.

Angered at this perversity, Te Rauparaha left Maungatautari, and proceeded at once to Rotorua and as far as Tauranga, meeting with no better success, until he fell in with the great Ngapuhi chief Pomare, who at the former place handed over to him a few of the men who had accompanied him to the Lake district on a mission of bloodshed. With this small reinforcement, Te Rauparaha returned to Taranaki and prepared to resume his journey southward, having in the meantime enlisted the services of some hundred Ngatiawa under one of the most famous men of his time, Wi Kingi Rangitake. The force at Te Rauparaha's command thus

numbered about four hundred fighting men and their families, with whom he proceeded to prosecute his march.

But while the plans of the Ngatitoa were thus developing in Taranaki, another misfortune was falling upon the people of the Manawatu from the opposite direction. A band of Waikato warriors under Tukorehu, Te Kepa, Te Kawau and several other leading chiefs, longing for some new excitement, had journeyed down the East Coast for no particular purpose except to kill, eat, or make slaves of whosoever might fall into their hands, and in the course of this pilgrimage of blood they crossed over to the west, and there attacked in succession the Muaupoko, Rangitane, and Ngatiapa people, upon whom they inflicted sore and mortal wounds, and when they retired back to the north they left the conquest of the Manawatu a matter of comparative simplicity to Te Rauparaha. The favourable trend given to events by this raid was soon taken advantage of, for late in the autumn of 1821, when the kumara crop had been gathered in, the march of the Ngatitoa was resumed, and it proceeded without interruption or mishap until they reached Patea. Here a slight skirmish arose, and six of the invaders were killed, their deaths being immediately

avenged a hundred-fold by the slaughter of some Waitotara people. From them a large canoe was also captured, which was at once employed in the transportation of the women and children by sea, thus avoiding the labour and fatigue involved in the land journey. The men, however, continued on foot along the coast, capturing and killing an occasional straggler who had lingered too long in the vicinity of the warpath.

On reaching the mouth of the Rangitikei River the canoe was drawn up on the beach, and the whole party halted for several days. Hearing of their arrival, the relatives of Pikinga came down to the camp to welcome her, but the remainder of the Ngatiapa tribe fled to the hills and concealed themselves amongst the mountain fastnesses. It would therefore appear that the friendship which they afterwards alleged to have existed between Te Rauparaha and themselves was not of a very substantial character. Nor did the marriage of their chieftainess with Te Rangihaeata avail them much, for while the bulk of his people rested by the river side, odd bands of their fighting men were continually scouring the country in search of some plump Ngatiapa who was needed to keep the ovens fully employed. While the weather continued fine, Te Rauparaha was

anxious to lose no more time than was absolutely necessary. So soon, therefore, as his people had been refreshed by the rest, he pushed on again, making his next stage the mouth of the Manawatu River, where he harassed the Rangitane by the inroads of armed parties on their settlements, but comparatively few captures were made, as the *pas* were deserted immediately the inhabitants scented the danger.

The migration which Te Rauparaha was thus conducting, had for its destination a sweet and fertile spot on the banks of the Ohau stream, and when the remaining portion of the coast had been traversed without opposition from the timid residents, and the tribe reached its journey's end in safety, preparations were at once made to establish themselves permanently on the land. A *pa* was built large enough to accommodate the whole party, while ground was cleared for cultivations, in which the potato was planted probably for the first time on this coast. Their nearest neighbours were the Ngatiapa on the island of Kapiti, and the Muaupoko, who were settled around the shores of Lakes Horowhenua and Papaitanga. In what light the former regarded the aggression upon their borders it is difficult to say, but the latter were evidently very ill

at ease, for they had a heavy presentiment of what the ultimate result would be. But how to avert the threatened danger was, not a simple matter to decide, because they knew enough to recognise that victory in open battle was not to be hoped for.

Strategy was therefore determined upon, and learning from two Whanganui chiefs, who were on a visit to Horowhenua, that Te Rauparaha's vulnerable point at this period was his desire to obtain canoes, they resolved to tempt him with the bait to which he was most likely to fall a victim. The ease with which the chief fell into the trap was due entirely to his excessive ambition, for great as the undertaking was—to conquer and carve out a new home for his tribe—his hopes and aspirations soared far above that end. He had heard strange stories of a treasure trove of greenstone which the Ngaitahu people had stored in their *pas* over on the Middle Island, and as he stood on the beach at Ohau, and looked across the Strait towards the hills of Waipounamu, he dreamed of this wealth and how he could possess himself of it. Without a fleet of canoes to convey his warriors over the intervening sea, the project of invasion was visionary in the extreme, but even with the frailest of vessels he might make it a reality,

and at one stroke add to his dominions, gratify his avarice, and satiate his lust of hate by waging war upon the southern tribes.

Of canoes the Muaupoko had many, for residing as they did upon the shores of two lakes, these vessels were almost as essential to them as gondolas are to the Venetians, and when they learned of Te Rauparaha's eagerness to obtain what they possessed, a plot was cautiously planned by which they hoped to rid themselves of a neighbour whose coming they felt boded them no good. Into this conspiracy of murder the Rangitane people were admitted, and for thus allowing themselves to be made the catspaw of others, they paid a bitter penalty; for they succeeded in nothing except in arousing the eternal hatred of the great chief, who seemed invulnerable alike to their cunning and their force.

The fathers of the scheme, which they induced others to carry out, were Turoa and Paetahi,* both of the Ngatiapa tribe, and the willing instrument in their hands was Toheriri, a leader of the Muaupoko, whose part in the plot was to send a message to Te Rauparaha, inviting him and a number of his people to pay a friendly visit to his

* Paetahi was the father of the chief well known in later times as Mete Kīngi

pa. As already indicated, the inducement held out to the Ngatitoa was the promise of the gift of canoes, and under the circumstances a more artful pretence could not have been conceived. "Canoes were at that time his great desire, for by them only could he cross over to the island of Waipounamu" is the explanation of the position given by Tamihana te Rauparaha many years afterwards, and if the Muaupoko could gratify that desire, then Rauparaha was not the man to refrain from making a convenience of his enemies as well as of his friends. Accordingly he accepted the invitation, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of his nephew and lieutenant, Te Rangihaeata, who declared that he had an irresistible conviction that murder, rather than hospitality, was the secret of the Muaupoko invitation.

Rauparaha, however, was in no mood to speculate about omens, good or evil. Canoes he wanted, and canoes he would have, even if the gods or the devils did happen to be against him. His unusual recklessness even carried him so far that he selected only a few warriors to accompany him, and with these he arrived at Papaitanga. The party, was, of course, received with the most profuse expressions of friendship. Toheriri and his fellow-chief,

Waraki, conducted their visitors in state to view the canoes which were to be handed over in the morning, but on returning to the *pa* they were careful to conduct Te Rauparaha to a house at one end of the settlement while his followers were provided for at the opposite end. This fact appears to have aroused no suspicion in the Ngatitoa mind, for at night all slept soundly until the shouts of the combined Rangitane and Muaupoko war parties were heard in the early morning as they rushed upon the slumbering *pa* to slay their hated enemies.

The assailants appear to have been altogether too precipitate in their onset. Instead of first surrounding the *whare* in which Te Rauparaha lay, they commenced the massacre of his followers at the other end, and Toheriri, who was sleeping with one eye open in the same compartment as Te Rauparaha, was compelled to go out and direct them to the particular hut in which their common foe was lying. This delay was fatal to their design, but fortunate for Te Rauparaha, for in the absence of his host he stayed not to take his leave, but bursting through the *raupo* wall which formed the end of the *whare*, he slipped away between the houses, and when the tardy Rangitane under Mahuri*

* Mahuri was the boy who led Te Rauparaha to the Rangitane *pa* at Hotuiti, when his father Toki Poto, was so treacherously killed. The Muaupoko section of the would-be murderers of Te Rauparaha were, on this occasion, led by Tunguru, the father of that brave and loyal soldier, Major Kemp. Tunguru and Kemp were soon, however, to experience the bitterness of fortune reversed.

and Te Awe Awe rushed up to the hut, their prey had flown, and nothing remained to be done but to wreak their vengeance upon the less-distinguished victims, who were slaughtered without hesitation or mercy.

Included among these victims of treacherous onslaught were several of Te Rauparaha's wives and children. Of the latter, however, two were spared, Teuira and Hononga, both of whom were daughters of his child-wife Marore. The former was already the wife of one of Rauparaha's distant relations named Taika, but the latter was a girl in the bloom of her maidenhood. Why the clemency of their enemies was displayed towards these two is not clear, but vengeance was apparently satisfied by sending them prisoners to the Wairarapa, where they afterwards became wives to men of renown in that district.

Amidst the chaos of treachery which surrounds this incident, it is pleasant to record an act of chivalry worthy of a Knight of King Arthur. Amongst those who accompanied Te Rauparaha on this eventful visit was that famous young warrior chief Rangihoungariri, who, it will be remembered, distinguished himself by slaying the chief of the Ngatimaniapoto when that tribe attacked the Ngatitoa at the Mokau River during their migration. He being strong of body and lithe of limb, had

managed to break through the cordon of the attackers, and had he chosen, might have made his escape. But as he hurried away, his ear caught the sound of a girl crying in piteous tones to someone to save her. On listening again he recognised the voice as that of Ruaparaha's daughter Hononga, upon whom, it may be, he had cast the soft glances of love. Heedless of what might follow, he did not wait to consider whether one man was a match for ten, but rushed back to the *pa*, and forcing his way to the side of the girl he placed his protecting arm around her, and fought her assailants until overpowered by superior numbers.

With his death, Ruaparaha lost one of his most intrepid lieutenants, and the Ngatitoa tribe one of their most promising leaders. As chivalrous as he was brave, he was the type of chief whose nobility lifted the ancient Maori above the level of a mere savage; who gave to his race the manly qualities which so impressed those early colonists who took the trouble to understand the people amongst whom they had come—qualities which, still inherent in them, justify the hope that by sound laws and sanitary reforms such as are now being effected, it will yet be possible to stay the degenerating process which set in as the result of the first contact of the

Maori with the not over-scrupulous European.

When Te Rauparaha slipped from the snare of his enemies he plunged into the long grass which surrounded the *pa*, and in the semi-darkness he succeeded in eluding his pursuers, eventually reaching his settlement at Ohau—weary, angry, and almost naked. Bitterly disappointed at the result of his mission, and deeply enraged at the treatment he had received, the wrathful Te Rauparaha cursed the Rangitane and Muaupoko peoples, and calling his tribe around him, he charged his followers to make it the one special mission of their lives “to kill them from the dawn of day till the evening.” This doctrine of extermination was not preached to unwilling ears, and from that day the fixed policy of the Ngatitoa tribe was to sweep the Muaupoko and the Rangitane from their ancestral lands.

In the subsequent reprisals which followed as the result of Rauparaha's vow of eternal vengeance, the former tribe seems to have suffered most, and there is little room for doubt that they would ultimately have been uprooted and effaced from amongst the tribes of New Zealand but for the kindly offices of that dark-skinned humanitarian, Te Whata-nui, who years afterwards took them under his protecting mantle, and declared that “nothing

would reach them but the rain from heaven."

The Rangitane people were more fortunately situated, having the impassable forests of the Manawatu and its inaccessible mountain fastnesses to protect them, but they by no means escaped the bitterness of persecution, as bands of Ngatitoa were constantly roaming their country in search of some one to kill and devour. The constant absence of these parties convinced Rauparaha that the small band of men he had with him was by no means sufficient for the magnitude of the task which his ambitious mind had conceived, and so he determined upon doing two things. The first of these was to strengthen his position by conquering Kapiti, which was still in the possession of a remnant of the resident tribes, and the second was to once again despatch ambassadors to the north to persuade some of his former allies to join him in mastering a district which promised a rich supply of guns and ammunition.

As a preliminary to the former scheme, he extended his frontier as far as Otaki, from which point he could the better watch the movements of the islanders, and sweep down upon them at some unwary moment. But the moments in which this lack of vigilance was apparent were few and far between, and consequently the first series of attacks failed

signally. The defenders were strongly posted and incessantly watchful, and Rauparaha soon saw that the frontal attack, be it never so well delivered, would not avail, and he at once decided upon a stratagem which, judged by its success, was admirably planned. His trick was to lull his victims into a false sense of security by apparently withdrawing all his forces from Otaki for the purpose of some larger movement in the north, at the same time leaving a small band of well-trying men whose duty it was to make a dash for the island, and seize it before its inhabitants had recovered from their surprise.

He accordingly marshalled his forces one morning, and with an amount of ostentation and display which was calculated to attract the attention of the Ngatiapa spies, he marched away to the Manawatu at the head of his warriors. The Ngatiapa saw these movements, but did not understand them, and believing that the absence of Te Rauparaha meant a period of respite, they withdrew their sentries and gave themselves up to rejoicing. This was precisely what the Ngatitōa chief wanted; and what he had anticipated would happen. He also had the satisfaction of knowing that the most critical part of his scheme was in safe hands. His uncle, Te Pehi Kupe, who was left in charge of the

attacking party, was a tried and grim old veteran, and true to the trust reposed in him he came out of his concealment just before the dawn of the morning after Te Rauparaha had left.

Silently the band launched their canoes, and as silently they paddled across the intervening water, reaching the island at the break of day. Here they found the inhabitants still sleeping, and unconscious of any danger, until the shouts of assailants and the cries of the wounded warned them that some desperate work was on hand. Not many of them stayed to fight, for those who were not killed in the first onslaught scrambled into their canoes and made for the mainland with much more haste than grace, thus ingloriously leaving the last independent stronghold of the Ngatiapa in the hands of the invaders.

It has been charged to the discredit of Te Rauparaha that when he planned this attack upon the island of Kapiti, he did so in the guilty hope that Te Pehi might fall by the hand of some of the island's redoubtable defenders, and so rid him of a powerful rival in the councils of the tribe. But while the prince of the Ngatitoa was ever capable of the grossest treachery towards his enemies, and was not always over-faithful to his friends, there is no evidence except belief that on this

occasion he meditated that crime against humanity which sacred history imputes to the King of Israel when he placed Uriah the Hittite in the fore front of the battle.

Te Pehi was undoubtedly a great chief. He was Te Rauparaha's senior in years, and his superior in birth. His prowess in battle was known far and wide, and the fact that he afterwards visited England for the sole purpose of obtaining guns and ammunition, stamps him as a man of strong initiative and individuality. But he did not possess the political genius with which his nephew was endowed; he lacked the organising power, the tact, and the gift of inspiring others with his own enthusiasm. While he might lead a charge with brilliancy, Te Rauparaha could often gain more by diplomacy than Te Pehi would by force of arms, and these statesman-like qualities gave the former an influence with the tribe which Te Pehi did not possess and could never gain.* But so far as can be learned from tradition, there is nothing to show that Te Pehi ever questioned his nephew's superiority in these respects. On the contrary, he seems to have cheerfully accepted the position and loyally aided Te Rauparaha in all his projects. Under these circumstances, it is somewhat difficult

* That Te Pehi was sadly lacking in tact is shown by the circumstance which led to his death at Kaiapoi in 1828.

to see what Te Rauparaha was to gain by sacrificing so brave an ally by sending him to lead so hazardous an undertaking. Moreover, the intense grief which he manifested when Te Pehi was killed at Kaiapoi, and the signal vengeance which he took upon the Ngaitahu for their act of treachery, betokens that he valued his friend too well to wish him slain. In view of these considerations, Te Rauparaha may be fairly exonerated from any criminal intent towards Te Pehi, and it can be safely accepted that the seizure of Kapiti was but an essential move in the policy of conquest, and that the manner of its seizure was but a cleverly-designed piece of strategy, certainly not unattended by risk, but in which it could only be hoped that fortune would favour the brave.

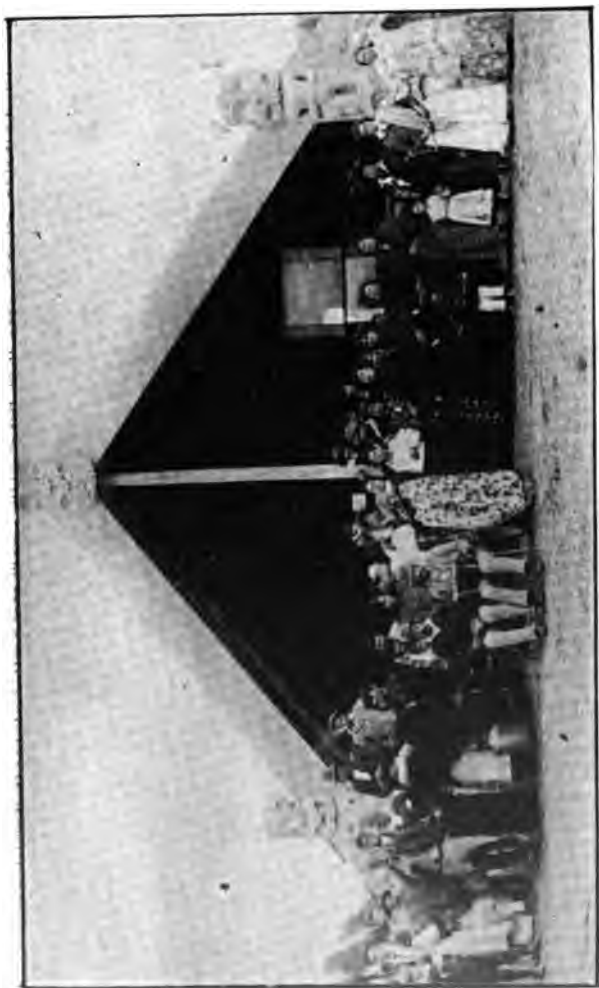
Having this natural fortress in his possession Te Rauparaha at once made it his centre of operations. Three *pas* were built upon the island to which his own tribe, the Ngatitoa, was transferred, the mainland opposite being occupied by the Ngatiawa people.

It was the decision of a large number of these allies to return to Taranaki which caused Te Rauparaha to take the second step already referred to, viz., to send messengers to the north once again to invite his kinsmen of the Ngatiraukawa tribe to come and join



MAJOR KEMP.

Meiha Kepa te Rangi-Hiwinui.



A NATIVE GATHERING AT MOUTOA.
Near Foxton.

him. When these emissaries arrived at Taupo they learned that an attempt to do this by way of the East Coast had already been made by Whatanui, but without success, he having been defeated by a Hawke's Bay tribe and driven back. This experience had somewhat cooled their ardour, but when Te Rauparaha's messengers came with the news that Kapiti had been taken, and related the tale of his marvellous success, interest in the project was at once revived. Especially was a young chief named Te Ahu Karamu fired with its romantic prospects, and he immediately organised a force of one hundred and twenty men and set off for the coast. Almost simultaneously with the arrival of these reinforcements, additional strength was gained by the coming of another band of Ngatiawa from Taranaki. But before the ranks of the Ngatitoa could be strengthened by this generous aid, events of decisive importance were occurring in and around the Manawatu.

In pursuance of his policy of extermination Te Rauparaha had been interspersing his larger movements with repeated raids upon the Rangitane and Muaupoko, in which he invariably made them feel the sting of his revenge. Finding that these attacks were becoming more frequent and vigorous, the chiefs of the latter tribe conceived a plan by

which they thought to elude their implacable pursuers. Hitherto their *pas* had been built upon the shores of the lakes around which they had lived since their advent to the district, but they now decided to abandon these strongholds, which were exposed to every raid of the enemy, and build their dwellings in the centre of Lakes Horowhenua and Papaitanga. At the cost of an amount of industry and labour which is perfectly amazing, they constructed artificial islands upon the beds of these lakes at their deepest parts, and upon these mounds they built a miniature Maori Venice. The construction of these islands was most ingenious, and desperate indeed must have been the straits to which the Muaupoko were driven before they imposed upon themselves so laborious a task. Proceeding to the bush, their first operation was to hew down a number of saplings, which were pointed and then driven into the soft mud, closely enclosing in rectangular form sufficient space on which to place the foundation of the house. Smaller stakes were then driven in the centre of the enclosure, upon which were spitted those compact masses of vegetation known to Europeans as "Maori heads." A layer of these gave the builders a solid basis upon which to work, and huge stones, earth and gravel were brought in the canoes from the shore and

poured into the enclosures until the pile of *debris* rose some distance above the level of the water. Six such islands were formed on Horowhenua and two on Papaitanga, and on these *whares* were erected, which were gradually extended by the addition of platforms reaching a considerable distance beyond the islands. Round each of these platforms there ran a stout palisade, which served the double purpose of preventing the very young children from falling into the water, and offering a formidable barrier to the assaults of the enemy. As the only means of communication with these island *pas* was by canoe, and as it was well known to the Muaupoko people that Te Rauparaha had few such vessels, they felt comparatively secure from attack so soon as they had transported themselves to their new retreat.

But they little reckoned on the kind of man with whom they had to deal, when they imagined that a placid sheet of water could interpose between Te Rauparaha and his foe. Canoes he certainly had not, but strong swimmers he had, and it is surely a great tribute to their daring that on a dark and gloomy night a small band of these undertook to swim off to one of the Horowhenua *pas*, and attack its sleeping inhabitants. With their weapons lashed to their wrists

they silently entered the water, and by swift side strokes reached the walls of Waipata, the *pas* which they had chosen for their attempt, and were swarming over the palisades before a note of warning could be sounded. Taken at such a disadvantage, it is not to be expected that the Muaupoko resistance would be remarkable for its vigour, for they were both stunned by surprise and paralysed by fear. Flight was therefore their first thought, and such as were not slain in their sleep, or caught in their attempt to escape, plunged into the lake and swam for dear life to the nearest shelter. In this endeavour to avert death all were not successful, and it is estimated that between the killed and drowned the attack upon Waipata cost the Muaupoko tribe several hundred lives, besides adding to their misfortunes by dissolving their belief in the inaccessibility of their island *pas*.

The remaining *pas* upon the lake having been warned of the impending danger by the tumult at Waipata, at once prepared for a stubborn defence, but the attacking party feeling themselves unequal to the task of a second assault, discreetly withdrew to the mainland, where preparations were at once made for another attack upon a more extensive scale. But both choice and necessity

dictated the wisdom of delay in launching this second assault, for it was prudent to wait until the Muaupoko had relapsed into their former state of confidence in order that they might again be surprised, and the plan upon which it was proposed to make the attack required time for its development.

Recognising the strength of the Waikiekie *pa*, against which the energies of his tribe were next to be directed, Te Rauparaha saw that success was not to be expected unless he could attack it in force. This compelled the transportation of a large body of men over the waters of the lake, which could only be effected by a means of canoes. These he did not possess in numbers, and even if he had he must still devise means by which he could convey them to the lake, which was several miles from the coast. The ingenious mind of Te Rauparaha, however, soon discovered an escape from these perplexities, and he at once decided upon a plan which was not without precedent in European warfare or example in subsequent Maori history. His scheme involved no less a feat than the haulage of his canoes over the belt of land which separates the lake from the sea, and it seems to have been as cleverly executed as it was daringly designed. Out of the lake there runs an insignificant stream

which slowly meanders over shallows and between narrow banks down to the ocean; and to the mouth of this creek were brought such canoes as had fallen into Te Rau-paraha's hands at the taking of Kapiti, and a larger one which had been procured from his friends at Whanganui-a-tara.* Where the water was deep enough, or the reaches were straight enough, the canoes were floated up the bed of the stream, but as this was possible only at rare intervals, the greater part of the distance was covered by dragging the vessels over the grassy flats and ferny undulations. Such a task would be laborious under any circumstances, but on this occasion it was rendered even more wearisome by the necessity for conducting it in absolute silence. As the success of the expedition depended greatly upon the completeness of its surprise, it was not expedient that the slightest note of warning should be given, and therefore it was impossible to encourage the workers to greater exertions by song or speech, but so heartily did they bend themselves to their monotonous task, that the three miles of toilsome road were traversed before the break of day.

The outflow of the lake was hidden by a clump of trees which grew close to the water's edge, and behind this natural screen the

* Now Wellington.

canoes were concealed, and the men lay down to rest until the moment came to strike. At the first appearance of the grey morning the canoes were shot into the lake, and before the inhabitants of Waikiekie had shaken slumber from their eyes, the shaft was on its way that would send many of them to their last long sleep. The *pa* was attacked on every side, and with a vigour which left no hope of life for those who could not escape. Such resistance as could be made at so inopportune a moment was offered by the drowsy defenders, but the mortal fear with which they regarded the Ngatitoa, together with the fury of the onslaught and the completeness of the surprise, spread panic amongst them, and the fight was soon left to the desperate few who cared to sustain it. Their valiant but vain resistance brought them nothing but the glory which belongs to the death of the brave, for they were soon borne down before the onrush of the assailants, whose shouts of triumph, joined with the terrified cries of the fugitives, made the morning air heavy with hideous echoes. Those (and there were many) who looked to discretion rather than valour to save them, plunged into the lake like ducklings shaken from their nest, and by swimming, diving, and dodging, a few managed to elude both capture and death. But numbers were

slain as they swam, and while their bodies sank to the bottom their blood mingled with the waters of the lake until it lay crimson beneath the rising sun.* Warriors and women, old men and children, to the number of two hundred, are said to have perished on that fateful morning which saw the Muau-poko tribe driven from Horowhenua, and the epoch of their greatness brought to a close. A mere remnant of the tribe escaped and made their way through the forests and mountain fastnesses to the southward, where in a later year they were again pursued, hunted, and slaughtered with all the old relentless hatred of their destroyer.†

When it became known that Te Rauparaha had retired to Kapiti, and there seemed less danger of immediate molestation, the Rangitane people again began to collect in force near their old home at Hotuiti. They built

* When the warriors leapt into the lake many of them carried their greenstone *mere*s with them, and those who were killed while in the water carried them to the bottom, where they now lie embedded in the mud. Most of these would be ancient weapons, highly valued by the tribe, but so far as the writer is aware, no effort has been made to recover them. Some day "when seas are dried and lakes are lowered," they may afford a rich treasure to the archaeologists who are to come after us.

† Amongst those who escaped was the chief Tunguru, who swam to the shore carrying his infant son on his back. The boy lived to be the famous Major Kemp, and one of his earliest recollections was of his father dragging him through the bush on that fatal morning. Tunguru evidently had perception enough to see that the Muau-poko people were doomed, and before he died he impressed upon his son the wisdom of associating himself with the "white crane," i.e. the Europeans who were now beginning to frequent the coast. This advice was never forgotten, with the result that Kemp became the able and trusted ally of the *pakeha*, and was presented with a sword of honour by our late Queen.

a strong *pa* near the present town of Foxton, and here they were joined by a number of Ngatiapa chiefs and people from Rangitikei. This proceeding Te Rauparaha regarded as a danger and a menace to his safety, for he had no reason to believe that he enjoyed their friendship, and no means of ascertaining when they might think proper to wreak their vengeance upon him. He therefore decided to take the initiative and attack them. Accordingly with Rangihaeata and his Ngatiapa wife Pikinga, he marched his war party up the coast and at once invested the place. The method by which he sought to reduce the *pa* to submission was doubtless a clever stratagem, and perhaps perfectly honourable according to the Maori code of warfare, but it is utterly repulsive to civilised ideas, and lowers Rauparaha in our estimate from the high plane of a classic warrior to the level of a cunning and unscrupulous savage. His first act of generalship was aimed at separating the two tribes, a fact which has been attributed by some to a desire to spare the Ngatiapa because of their relationship with Pikinga. Others, however, can see in it nothing but a clever ruse to divide the defending force, so that he might the more easily attack and defeat them singly. He therefore sent Pikinga to the Ngatiapa chiefs with a request that they should withdraw

to their own territory beyond the Rangitikei River. In all probability he promised them safe conduct on their journey, but if he did it was of no avail, for they firmly refused to evacuate the Hotuiti *pa*, and doggedly remained where they were. Feigning, then, to abandon his campaign, Te Rauparaha sent to the Rangitane chiefs, inviting them to come to him and negotiate terms of peace.

In view of their past experiences it might have been thought that this request would have been scornfully declined, but after long and anxious debate it was decided, mainly, it is said, on the advice of the Ngatiapa chiefs, that the leading Rangitane warriors should meet the Ngatitoa leader, and make the best terms possible with him. The result was, of course, the old story,—an exhibition of bad faith and ruthless slaughter of the confiding ambassadors, who found that Te Rauparaha came not with peace but unrelenting war. Treachery was no more suspected inside the *pa* than out of it, and while the people were deluded into the belief that the war clouds had passed away they were being secretly and silently surrounded. At a given signal the walls were stormed, and a bloody massacre followed, from which the Ngatitoa warriors came,

“Red with victory's crimson flush.”

The slain were eaten on the spot, and the prisoners were taken to Waikanae, there to await the returning appetite of their captors.

So dastardly an attack upon their friends, and so gross an insult to their tribal pride, could not be overlooked, and although it might be months, possibly even years, before the Ngatiapa and Rangitane peoples would be able to strike an avenging blow, it followed as surely as the night the day that so soon as the favourable moment arrived, the Ngatitooa would have to pay the penalty of their treachery. But Rauparaha never dreamed that they would have the temerity to attack him upon his own land, and while he was lying in fancied security at Waikanae the storm suddenly burst upon him. The Ngatiapa, under Te Hakeke, had hurriedly collected their war party, and obtaining reinforcements from the fugitives who had escaped from the massacre at Hotuiti, came by stealthy marches down the coast and fell upon the unsuspecting Ngatitooa in the dead of night. Next morning the camp was in ruins, Te Rauparaha's force was in flight, and sixty of his followers, including four of Te Pehi's daughters, were lying dead amongst the *debris*. The balance of battle honours having thus been somewhat adjusted, the aggressors retired well satisfied with the result, while the reinforcements

which came from Kapiti were either not strong enough, or not keen enough, for a fight, to pursue them.

Whatever may have been Te Rauparaha's disposition towards the Ngatiapa prior to this successful act of retaliation—whether he was genuinely disposed to befriend them, or whether he was merely assuming a virtue which he did not possess—need be of no further concern, for from that day he took on an attitude of unmistakable hostility towards them, revoking all promises of peace, stated or implied, becoming, in the characteristic language of Matene te Whiwhi, "dark in his heart in regard to Ngatiapa." The shield of friendship having been removed, this northern tribe was now exposed to all the rigour of the most ruthless man in New Zealand, and in the raids which his warriors made against them neither man nor woman was spared who was unfortunate enough to fall into his hands. These misfortunes created a bond of sympathy between the Ngatiapa and their neighbours, the Rangitane and Muaupoko, and paved the way for an alliance against their common foe. Although banished from Horowhenua, and wandering about the solitary places of the coast a broken and shattered people, there was still sufficient energy and hatred

remaining in one of the Muaupoko chiefs to make a final effort to recover their departed *mana*. Ratu, who had suffered captivity at the hands of Te Pehi, aspiring to be the regenerator of his tribe, became the apostle of a federation which was to embrace the three tribes who had felt the weight of the Ngatittoa hand. From Waitotara in the north to Arapawa in the south and Wairarapa in the east he organised an alliance which could hurl two thousand fighting men against their hitherto invincible adversary. Canoes from far and near brought this host to the appointed rendezvous, the northerners assembling at Otaki and the southerners at Waikanae. From these two points this vast army of men converged upon Kapiti, their canoes "darkening the sea" as they went. The magnitude of this armada, however, was greater than its discipline, and before it had proceeded far its movements were discovered. The noise of the paddles as the canoes approached the island in the early morning, caught the keen ear of Nopera, and when the right wing landed at Rangatira Point, they were opposed by the people whom they had expected to surprise.

The attack was fierce and desperate, and when Pokaitara, the Ngatittoa commander, found himself being driven back towards

Waiorua, he astutely proposed a truce which would give him a welcome respite while it lasted, and perhaps some advantage in the first moment of its violation. Ignorant of the fact that a message had been sent to Te Rauparaha, who was at the centre of the island, and hoping for the arrival of his own reinforcements who were still at sea, Rangimairehau, the Ngatiapa chief from Turakina, in a weak moment, agreed to the suspension of hostilities. Scarcely had this been done when Te Rauparaha, with the major part of his people, arrived on the scene, and repudiating any arrangement to which his lieutenant might have committed himself, he recommenced the sanguinary work and fought to such purpose that the issue was no longer in doubt. With one hundred and seventy of their tribesmen slain, the Ngatiapa attack began to grow less vehement. Presently their ranks were seen to waver, and an impetuous charge at this decisive moment drove into rout what had hitherto been an impenetrable front. The slaughter of pursuit was scarcely less than that of resistance, and while the dead and dying lay on every side, many found a watery grave in their vain effort to swim to the canoes which had not yet reached the shore. News that disaster had overtaken the advance guard soon spread to the other sections of the allied forces, and without

attempting to retrieve the fortunes of the day, they turned and precipitately fled in which ever direction safety seemed to lie. Thus the largest force which had ever been marshalled during the Maori wars was defeated by one of the smallest; the organisation of two years was dissipated in as many hours, and the invaders were only the more firmly established in the land by this futile attempt to uproot them. This great victory, which settled for ever the question of supremacy, was duly celebrated by feasting and dancing, during the course of which Te Rauparaha chanted a song of triumph which was especially offensive to his enemies, taunting them as it did with a lack of courage, and foretelling even greater misfortunes that were yet to befall them.

When will your anger dare ?
When will your power arise ?
Salute your child with your nose.
But how salute him now ?
You will see the rejoicing tide
Of the warrior's coming glee,
And the departure of Rongo-ma-whiti.

While Te Rauparaha was enjoying the fruits of his victory, his forces received welcome reinforcements from two quarters. The news of battle fought and laurels won had reached Taranaki, and a section of the Ngatiapa, whose curiosity had been aroused by the tales told by their returned

tribesmen, came down to learn the truth of matters for themselves. Close upon their heels came the long-hoped-for band of Ngati-raukawa, who signalised their advent by at once attacking the settlements in the Rangitikei and Manawatu districts. While one party skirted along the coast, the other struck inland, and under their chiefs Te Whatu and Te Whetu, surrounded and captured a Ngatiapa *pa* at Rangiure, and then proceeded to Puketane, where they killed a number of the resident people and made the remainder prisoners. These two settlements had been taken completely by surprise, their people little dreaming that a war party was marching through the land. No better prepared were the Ngatiapa then living at Awahuri, who were next attacked, and their chief Te Aomui was added to the train of captives. The invaders then pursued their victorious march down the banks of the Oroua River as far as its junction with the Manawatu. Here they crossed the larger stream, and immediately attacked the *pa* at Te Whakatipua. This assault was stoutly resisted by the chiefs Kaihinu and Peropero, who paid the penalty with their lives, but the remainder of the people who were not laid low by the musketry of the invaders were spared on their proffering a humble submission. This was practically the only discreet course open to them, for



Te Rako Whakaiwha.



Hine Katarangi.

CARVED FIGURES AT RAUKAWA PA.

Sketched by Mr. J. T. Stewart in 1859.



PEETI TE AWE AWE.

A Rangitane Chief.

not only were they placed at a serious disadvantage away from their fighting *pas*, but many of the Ngatiraukawa were armed with guns, while the Rangitane had not yet got beyond the stage of the wooden spears and stone clubs of their forefathers.

The rapid movements of the Ngatiraukawa and the completeness of their captures had prevented the news of their presence being despatched to adjoining settlements, and as a consequence when they ascended the course of the Manawatu and came upon the little *pā* of Rotoatane, situated not far from Tiakitahuna,* they were able to attack and win it almost before the people could be summoned from the fields. Not that it was a bloodless victory, for a Rangitane chief named Tina fought with the desperation of a Trojan, and before he was overpowered by superior numbers three of the assailants were stretched dead at his feet. Once more the advance was sounded, the objective this time being the *pā* at Tiakitahuna itself. This settlement was under the chieftainship of Toringa and Tamati Panau, the latter being the father of the chief Kerei te Panau,† who still lives at Awapuni. These men were evidently more alert than their

* Anglicised Jackeytown.

† Kerei te Panau was at this time a lad, and probably owes the fact that he is alive to-day to this flight across the river in the canoes.

neighbours, for no sooner did the *tama* come in sight than they took to their canoes and paddled across to the opposite bank of the river. While the two tribes were thus ranged upon opposite sides of the broad-flowing stream, the Rangitane had time to consider the position. Tamati Panau was the first to seek an explanation by calling out to Te Whatu, "Where is the war party from?" Clear and quick came the answer back, "From the north." That was sufficient for Toringa, who had already tested the metal of the northerners, and he at once sent a curse across the water, which was hurled at the heads of the invaders with all the venom that tribal hatred could engender.

Whether it was the dread of Toringa's denunciation, or whether the Ngatiraukawa were satisfied with their unbroken course of victory, is not clear to the present day historian, but the Rangitane traditions relate that after firing a single shot from one of their muskets, the invaders retired from the district, taking their prisoners with them, and made their way to the south, there to join Te Rauparaha, who was anxiously awaiting their coming.

The prospect which was opened up to these newcomers was far beyond anything of which they had dreamed; in fact, so

fascinated was Te Ahu Karamu with the new and beautiful country which his great kinsman had conquered, that after a reasonable rest he returned to Taupo for the purpose of bringing the whole of his people away from a position which was daily becoming more exposed to the aggression of the Waikato tribes. His ambitious designs in this direction were nearly thwarted by the persistency with which the tribe clung to their northern home, in spite of his threat to invoke the wrath of his *atua** if they questioned the command of their chief. Finding that the terrors of his god had no influence upon them, Karamu adopted an instrument of the devil, and taking a torch in his hand brought his obdurate tribesmen to their senses by burning every house in the *pa* to the ground. Rendered thus houseless and homeless, there was nothing for the dejected people to do but to follow their imperious leader. In his journey he was joined by two of the most famous chiefs of that day, Te Whatanui and Te Heuheu, the former of whom was destined to become the patriarch of Horowhenua and the protector of its persecuted people. Collecting a strong retinue of their followers, the three chiefs set off for the coast by the same route which Karamu had previously travelled,

* *Atua*, a god.

varying the monotony of the journey through the Ngatiapa country by occasional skirmishes after frightened fugitives, those who were not able to conceal themselves amongst the mountains and the woods being butchered to gratify the craving for human flesh and the lust of tribal pride.

Upon their arrival at Kapiti, long and anxious consultations followed between the chiefs, the result of which was that Te Whatanui at last consented to migrate and throw in his fortunes with Te Rauparaha. This was eventually accomplished, and the consolidation of the Ngatitoa and Ngati-raukawa tribes made their future absolutely secure, and even brought Te Rauparaha's wildest dreams of conquest within measurable distance* of accomplishment.

The number of natives now under his command was sufficient to enable Te Rauparaha to begin the main purpose of his conquest, namely, the systematic occupation of the land. As he and his own immediate tribe had withdrawn to the shelter of Kapiti, where they could be in closer touch with the whalers, upon whom they depended for

* Next to the conquest of this coast Te Rauparaha's greatest ambition was to measure his strength against the natives of the Middle Island, whose reputed wealth in greenstone had aroused his avarice, while the prospect of acquiring additional territory appealed strongly to his love of power. This design he ultimately accomplished between the years 1800-05.

the supply of muskets which would make further conquests still more easy, he now proceeded to partition the country along the coast amongst the new arrivals. The first division led to civil war and domestic feuds which threatened to destroy all that he had already accomplished, and it was not until a new allotment was agreed upon* by which the Ngatiawa were given the exclusive possession of the country south of Kukutauaki stream, and the Ngatiraukawa sole dominion over the district northward of that boundary as far as the Wangaehu River, that his power to resist his enemies was restored by the harmony which prevailed amongst his friends. Not that there was any immediate danger of attack, for his incessant raids upon the Ngatiapa and Muau-poko tribes had reduced them to the condition of a shattered and fugitive remnant, incapable alike of organised attack or organised defence.

Conscious of his own strength, and flushed with the knowledge that he had succeeded in the first part of his great enterprise, it was probably one of the proudest days of Te Rauparaha's life when, standing upon Kapiti, he formally transferred the whole of the coast to his followers by right of conquest,

* These divisions were fixed at the suggestion of Waitohi, Te Rauparaha's sister, the wisdom of whose adjustment is proved by the fact that no further disputes occurred between the sections of Te Rauparaha's followers.

and proclaimed to the assembled people the districts which were to be their future homes, and the boundaries which they were to observe and respect. But they were commissioned to do something more than merely occupy the land. In imperious tones the great chief commanded them, "Clear the weeds from off my field." In other and less figurative words, they were to kill and persecute the conquered peoples without pity and without mercy, and perhaps it would have been well for Ngatiraukawa had they obeyed his instructions instead of extending a sheltering arm to those who subsequently proved themselves so unworthy of their clemency.

Under the arrangement thus determined upon at Kapiti, the country round Lake Horowhenua was taken possession of by that grand old member of a magnificent race, Te Whatanui, and those people who had come from the north with him. The district now known as the Lower Manawatu was occupied by a section of the Ngatiraukawa under Te Whetu, and still higher up, Rangitikei came under the dominion of Nepia Taratoa, a chief who seems to have been as generous to the Ngatiapa as Whatanui was to Muau-poko. Whether the allocation of these districts to these particular chiefs was due to their own choice or to that of Te Rauparaha,

is not known, but in the case of Te Whetu the former seems to have been the fact, for during the raid which he had made on the Manawatu while migrating to Kapiti, he had secured amongst his captives a handsome young woman named Hene-titi, whose charms so pleased him that when he reached Kapiti he made her his wife. Hene was a woman whose gentleness moved her lord and master in a way that sterner methods would not, for she soon obtained a Delilah-like influence over him, and then her will became his desire. Doubtless the memory of her old home was ever present with her, even amongst the beauties of Kapiti, and when the partition of the country was being spoken of in the *kaingas*, she urged Te Whetu to take her back to the banks of the Manawatu, where she might be once more with friends and relatives. In deference to this wish, Te Whetu brought her to a little settlement named Te Iwi te Kari, near Foxton. With them came the Ngatiwehiwehi *hapu*, bringing the prisoners whom they had taken eighteen months before, and together they occupied the district around Mati Kona.* The Manawatu was still well stocked with Rangitane, for many of their larger settlements in the upper part of the district had not been so completely depopulated as some of the more

* Below Jockeytown.

southern *pas* by the captures and slaughters of the marauding northerners.

The presence of the Ngatiraukawa in the midst of their country put no check upon their freedom, and according to their ancient custom they moved about from one *kainga* to the other at their pleasure. Indeed, the relations between the Rangitane and Ngatiraukawa appear to have been of the most friendly nature after the return of the captives from Kapiti, a fact which the former attribute to the marriage of Te Whetu with their chief-tainness, but which in reality was due to the great generosity of the Ngatiraukawa, who, had they chosen, might have left nothing but smoking ruins and bleaching bones to tell of the Rangitane's former existence. The feeling, however, was not so cordial between the Rangitane and the natives immediately under the leadership of Te Rauparaha, who allowed no circumstance to mitigate his extreme desire for revenge, and although no pitched battles took place, there were occasional skirmishes and massacres, which served to keep the fires of hate alive.

The humiliated remnant of the Muaupoko tribe had by this time sought and obtained the protection of Te Whatanui, who had repeatedly assured them that so long as they remained his dutiful subjects, no harm would

come to them. Although slavery was the price they thus had to pay for the privilege of breathing their native air, it at least secured them the right to live, but it did not secure them absolute immunity from attack. More than once Te Whatanui had to protest against the inhumanity of the Ngatittoa towards those whom he had elected to save from utter destruction, and these distressing persecutions did not cease until the Ngati-raukawa chief told Te Rauparaha in unmistakable language, emphasised by unmistakable gestures, that before another hair of a Muaupoko head was touched, he and his followers would first have to pass over his (Te Whatanui's) dead body. Unwilling to create a breach of friendship with so powerful an ally as Whatanui had proved himself to be, Te Rauparaha ceased openly to assail the helpless Muaupoko, though still continuing to pursue them in secret. He plotted with Te Puoho to trap the Rangitane, and with Wi Tako to ensnare the Muaupoko. The scheme was to invite them to a great feast at Waikanae, to partake of some new food,* which the *pakeha* had brought to Kapiti.

So far as the Rangitane people were concerned, the invitation was prefaced by an exchange of civilities in the shape of presents

* This food was composed of pumpkins. Probably the first grown on the Coast.

between Mahuri and Te Puoho, and when it was thought that their confidence had been captured, the vanity of the Rangitane was still further flattered by a request for the pleasure of their company at the feast. Some hundreds of the Rangitane people at once set out for Waikanae, but when they arrived at Horowhenua, Te Whatanui used his utmost endeavours to dissuade Mahuri from proceeding further. Knowing Te Rauparaha as he did, he felt convinced that the lord of Kapiti could not so soon forget his hatred for those who had vainly sought to take his life at Papaitanga, and while he would have had no compunction about killing in open war every man and woman of the tribes he was protecting, Te Whatanui's generous soul rebelled against the treachery and slaughter which lay concealed under the present invitation. His counsel was, therefore, against going to Waikanae, but the impetuous young Mahuri saw no reason for alarm, and heedless of the advice of Te Whatanui, he led his people to their destruction.

On reaching their destination the hospitality of Te Puoho was for a time of the most bountiful nature. The visitors were shown to their houses, and no effort was spared to allay any suspicions of treachery, but one night, as they sat around their fires,

the appointed signal was given, and the guests were set upon by a force their superior in numbers by two to one, and to use the words of a native who knows the story well, "they were killed like pigs," only one man escaping from the massacre. This was Te Awe Awe, whose life was spared at the instigation of a chief named Tungia, in return for a similar act of humanity which the Rangitane leader had been able to perform for Tungia some time before.

In justice to Te Rauparaha, it should be stated that this massacre was not entirely prompted by his old grudge against the resident people, but partly arose out of a new cause of grievance against them, which serves to illustrate the complexity of Maori morality, and the smallness of the pretence upon which they deemed a sacrifice of life both necessary and justifiable. The offence of which the Rangitane people had been judged guilty enough to deserve so drastic a punishment was the fact that they were somewhat distantly related to the Ngatikahungunu tribe, then resident in the Wairarapa. These people had some time previously killed a number of Ngatitoa natives* whom they believed to be plotting their destruction, for while they were discussing their plans in one of the *whares*, a Ngatikahungunu,

* Their leader's name was Paenga Mura Mura.

who was sleeping with at least one ear open, overheard their conversation, and at once gave the alarm, with the result that the scheming Ngatitoa were hoist with their own petard. Their deaths, however, had to be avenged, and it is easy to understand how gladly Te Rauparaha would avail himself of this new excuse for wiping out an old score.

The morning after the massacre Tungia took Te Awe Awe outside the Waikanae *pā*, and placing a weapon in his hand said to him, "Go! come back again, and kill these people." The released chief at once made his way as best he could to the Manawatu, where he found most of the settlements deserted by the terror-stricken people in consequence of the appalling news which had just reached them of the death of their friends. He, however, succeeded in collecting about thirty warriors, and with these he travelled down the coast, receiving additions by the way from a few stragglers belonging to his own and the Muaupoko tribe. When they reached Waikanae, they found the Ngatitoa people busily engaged in gathering flax to trade away for guns and powder, and little suspecting an attack. They had beguiled themselves into the false belief that the shattered Rangitane would

not be able to collect in so short a time a force sufficiently strong to harm them. When, therefore, Te Awe Awe at the head of his brave little band rushed upon them, dealing death at every blow, they, in their turn, were at all the disadvantage of being taken completely by surprise. Upwards of sixty of the Ngatitoa were killed, amongst them a chieftainess named Muri Whaka Roto, who fell into the hands of the enraged Te Awe Awe, and was despatched without the slightest ceremony.

Matea, the Rangitane chief's second in command, was more chivalrous to Tainai Rangi, for he spared her and brought her back to Manawatu, a prisoner certainly, but still alive.

Such of those of the flax-gathering party as were not slain made good their escape down the coast, and the avengers of Mahuri, fearing that they might soon return with a large and active war party, beat a hasty retreat, well satisfied with the result of their mission of revenge—the last great act of slaughter perpetrated as a protest against the second conquest of the Manawatu which occurred between the conquerors and the conquered people.

CHAPTER III.

THE PAKEHA.

Steer, faithful helmsman, steer,
By stars beyond the line,
You go to found a realm one day
Like England's self to shine.

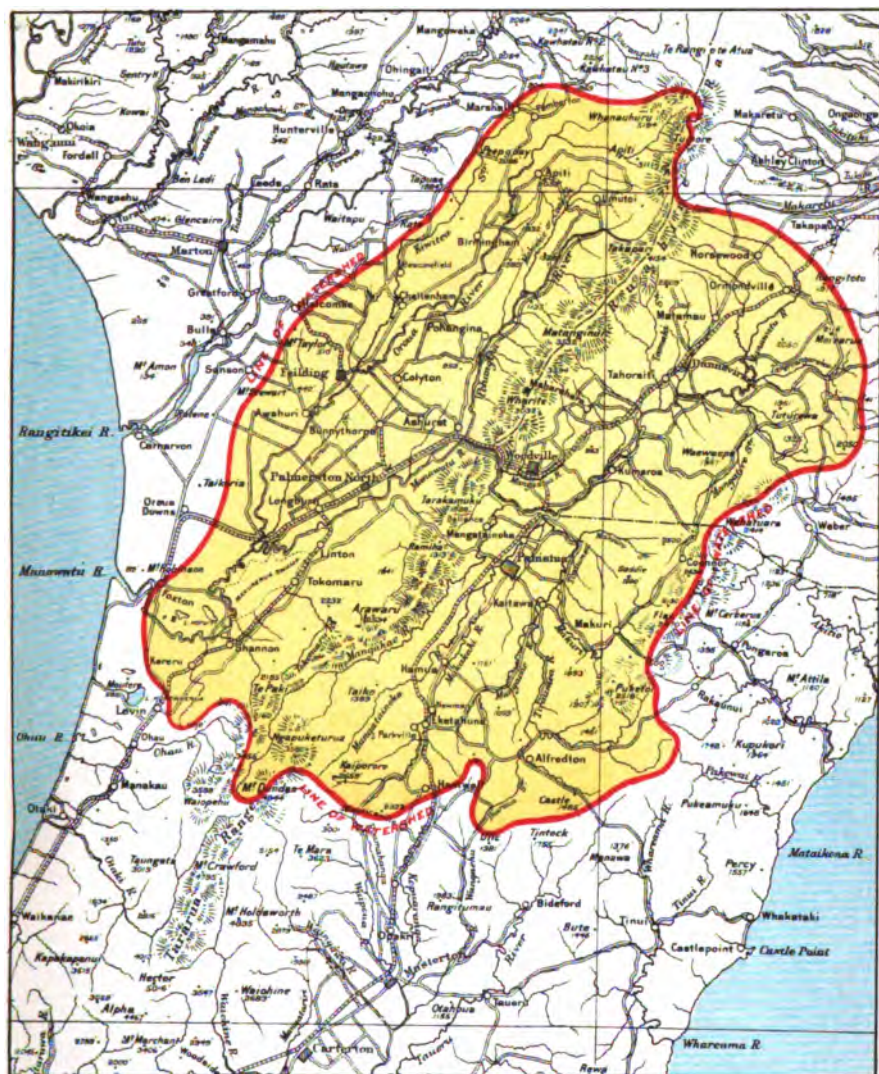
Within a comparatively brief period of the events narrated in the last chapter, Te Rauparaha became immersed in his larger schemes of conquest in the Middle Island, and these for the moment diverted his attention from the Rangitane to the Ngaitahu tribes. His mind was also engrossed in devising diplomatic methods by which he could quell the spirit of civil war which had broken out between the fiery Ngatiawa and Ngati-raukawa. He therefore had less time to devote to reprisals upon his old enemies, and before a suitable opportunity had occurred for avenging the killing of his people by Te Awe Awe, Christianity had been introduced to the tribes along the West Coast by a native preacher, from Tauranga, named

Wiremu Hamua. The peaceful teachings of the Gospel were readily accepted by the natives, who must have been weary of war. "The work of our fathers was continual fighting; there was no light period during those times"—is the testimony of an intelligent Maori which might well be applied to their life in these western districts, and when the doctrine of universal love was preached amongst them they seized upon it as the panacea for their thousand woes. One of the first and most enthusiastic converts was Tamihana te Rauparaha,* who became greatly distressed at the havoc which the incessant battles and massacres were creating. His own influence was constantly exerted in uplifting the banner of peace, but so keenly did he recognise the need of some one more qualified than himself to expound the teachings of Christ, that he journeyed to the Bay of Islands for the purpose of securing the services of a resident missionary. There he met the Rev. Octavius Hadfield, whom he induced to return with him, and from December of that year, 1839, a new era may be said to have dawned upon the wild West Coast.

* Tamihana te Rauparaha was the son of the great chief, born at the *pu* of Puhu, during the migration of the Ngatitua to the south. By those Europeans who knew him in later years, he is described as a man of considerable intelligence, and one who was thoroughly imbued with *pakeha* ideas. His dress was always that of the European, and his house, which was open to all, was presided over by a European servant.

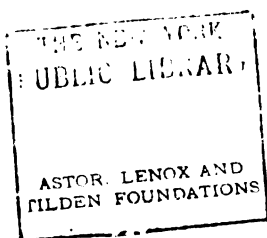
But long before the arrival of Mr. Hadfield* a rude civilisation had been struggling for an existence on the shores of Wellington; introduced by the rough whalers, whose advent is so remote and uncertain that it is only possible to speculate upon its date. As early as 1793 whalers are believed to have visited New Zealand, but the relations of the crews with the natives were then of the most cruel and barbarous nature, and it is doubtful whether the sailors or the Maoris were the greater savages. It was not, however, until about the year 1827 that the system known as "shore parties" was established. With a keen eye to their natural advantages the whalers planted stations at Queen Charlotte Sound, Cloudy Bay, and Kapiti; and as it is to these latter that we owe the chief influence upon the tribes of the West Coast, they call for greater attention than the casual visits of itinerant ships. The men who comprised the inhabitants of these whaling stations were for the

* Mr. Hadfield worked exceedingly hard, and the very highest testimony is borne to the value of his labours by those who saw what he had accomplished. Unlike most missionaries, he acquired no land, and by his unselfish demeanour he wielded a great influence over the natives, often preserving peace amongst them at great personal risk to himself. In addition to his religious work he opened schools for both old and young, in which he estimates that about two thousand Maoris were taught to read and write in their own language. The results, however, were not so satisfactory as had been anticipated, for the young men who had learned to read soon began to "fancy themselves," and deserted the *pas* for *pakeha* society, where they generally succeeded in getting their morals corrupted, while the educated girls were snapped up as wives by the whalers and settlers, and being removed from their own people could not exercise any influence over them.



MAP SHOWING DRAINAGE AREA OF THE MANAWATU RIVER.

Approximate area, 2,200 square miles. Scale, 16 miles to an inch.



most part rough fellows who had been engaged in sealing operations on the southern coast of the Middle Island; an occasional runaway sailor; convicts from Australia, who had been liberated by the authorities; and convicts who had liberated themselves.

The sealers had been encouraged to join in the pursuit of the whales, which annually swam through Cook Strait, for the sake of the greater excitement and profit which it brought, while enhanced comfort and liberty were the inducements which led the seamen to desert their former calling. These men were a strange medley of nationalities, and in their habits they were at once the embodiment of order and disorder, of filth and cleanliness. Their occupation was one of the most unsavoury in the world, and yet they insisted upon everything round their little huts being kept scrupulously clean. The wild and riotous conduct in which they indulged during their drunken orgies stood in strong contrast to the discipline which they maintained in their boats, and their strict observance of the unwritten laws of the chase was a strange contradiction of their utter lawlessness in other directions. While they taught the natives many of the arts of peace, they supplied them with arms and ammunition to make war upon tribal enemies.

Their time was spent between spells of voluntary drunkenness and involuntary sobriety, between excessive work and excessive idleness; in fact, the only thing in which they seemed to be consistent was their unlimited and universal hospitality to strangers.

But paradoxical and full of contradictions as the lives of these men were, they played an invaluable part in paving the way for the finer grades of civilisation. They explored the country, endured the keenest hardships, and, while they introduced new vices simultaneously with new wants, they also reconciled the Maori to the presence of the *pakeha* by compelling a respect for his physical prowess. Long, therefore, before 1839, the prophecy of Waka Nene had been fulfilled. Cook Strait had then become a centre of considerable importance; and when the Tory arrived at Kapiti with Colonel Wakefield as the agent of the New Zealand Company, there were already several whaling stations established on and about that island, each with its complement of boats and its crowd of native retainers.

Te Rauparaha* had assiduously cultivated

* At this time Te Rauparaha was living on the little island of Tahora-maurea, between Kapiti and the mainland. He had no fortified *pa*, but appeared to trust entirely to his great reputation to protect him against his own people, and to his isolation to preserve him against his enemies. Once when some Waikato natives were visiting him, they observed the defenceless condition of his village, and sneeringly remarked, "We could take this *pa* easily." Te Rauparaha as sarcastically replied, "Yes, if only the women were in it."

the acquaintance and friendship of these hardy adventurers for the sake of the guns and the ammunition which they brought him, to say nothing of an occasional glass of grog, of which he had become exceedingly fond. Indeed, he enjoyed a monopoly of their trade, and those whom he could not bounce, he flattered into acquiescence in his wishes, for to him the means were of no consequence—the end was everything.

The principal chiefs who ruled over the white savages at Kapiti, as Te Rauparaha ruled over the natives, were Joseph Toms, nicknamed "Geordie Bolts," and "Tommy" Evans; while there were a host of minor lights, whose real names were concealed beneath such original sobriquets as "Flash Bill," "French Jim," and "Bill the Cooper." In the same way they knew the native chiefs as "Robuller,"* "Satan," and "The Old Serpent"; their whole language, in fact, being a string of concocted slang which it defied the ingenuity of the natives to interpret. Potatoes were "spuds," tobacco was "the weed," a chief was a "nob," a slave a "doctor," a girl a "titter," and a child a "squeaker." The authority of the headsmen of the stations was seldom disputed by those in their employ, for they were natural

* The whalers' method of pronouncing Te Rauparaha.

leaders of men, big in body, strong of limb, and possessed of masterful if untutored minds. But in cases of fractiousness their method of enforcing obedience was simple and satisfactory, and was explained in the concise language of "Geordie Bolts." When questioned by Mr Hadfield* as to how he maintained order amongst his men, that worthy replied, "I knocks 'em down, Sir."

The influence which the whalers had upon the natives of the Manawatu and Rangitikei districts was but small compared with that which they wielded over the followers of Te Rauparaha, for the stations did not extend beyond the shelter of Kapiti. Safe anchorage and good boat harbours were an essential requirement of their business, and these the exposed coast did not afford. Moreover, the shoal waters of the South Taranaki Bight were regarded as protected ground, for here the cows resorted in the calving season, and while sporting in "Motherly Bay," as it was called, they were never disturbed.

The first glimpse of this rude dawn of the new era did not, therefore, penetrate into the Manawatu until long after Te Rauparaha had made the acquaintance of the whalers, and the southern districts were well started on the road to civilisation ere the Rangitane

* Mr. Hadfield afterwards became Bishop of Wellington, and Primate of the colony.

tribe had learned to appreciate its value. The earliest traditions which the living members of the Rangitane tribe have preserved regarding the advent of the Europeans to the Manawatu proper are of rather a hazy nature, and correspond so closely with the account of the first landing of the whites at Whanganui, that one is almost inclined to suspect that there has been some confusion of memory, in which persons and events have been transposed. Whether this is so or not cannot now be definitely ascertained; but the story which has been handed down through several generations is that the first Europeans of which the Rangitane people have any knowledge landed at the mouth of the Manawatu River. In all probability they were a party from one of the earliest whalers, who were beginning to explore these southern waters in search of sperm oil; but this, of course, must be regarded as the purest conjecture, as the natives have no recollection, if they ever knew, how or whence the visitors came. All that they are certain of is that some strange beings were found on the banks of the Manawatu River,* and Mahina, an ancestor of the Te Awe Awe family, believing them to be some strange species

* A somewhat dubious date has been assigned to this event, which is said to have taken place five generations, or one hundred and twenty-five years ago. This would place it about the time of Captain Cook's third voyage. It must have been much later, but it would be so long ago that it is perfectly excusable for an unlettered people to be somewhat hazy about its details.

of god with whom he had no acquaintance, at once set upon them and killed those who were not fortunate enough to escape in the strange canoe with the strange paddles.

The natives of Awapuni to-day hold the opinion that Mahina was a very foolish man, for if he had been wise in his generation he would rather have encouraged the *pakeha*, from whom guns and ammunition might have been obtained wherewith to slaughter their enemies. Whether it was regret at these missed opportunities which caused a change to come over the demeanour of the tribe many years after, when the next white stranger came amongst them, it might be venturesome to say, but the fact remained that when he did arrive he received very different treatment from that meted out to his predecessors. He was taken in hand by the tribe and treated to the best of everything, for they had now become proud to own a *pakeha*. It is almost certain that he was a runaway sailor, for the natives are clear upon the point that he came by himself from a ship which was lying off the Manawatu bar, and that when he left he went away in a ship. He was called by the tribes Te Puihi,* and, as an evidence that his presence was appreciated by them, a sister of Hoani Meihana was given to

* This man's name is believed to have been Bush.

him for a wife; but he remained with them for only about three years, and then left as suddenly as he came.

Still, his coming and going afforded positive indication that the white man was at hand, and soon after the arrival of the Tory and the subsequent survey and emigrant ships, a few of the more Bohemian of the colonists began to drift from the main settlement at Wellington, and find their way into the bush and river-side *pas* along the West Coast. A precarious trade was then begun in flax and pigs, and one of the earliest of the pioneers who thus located himself on the banks of the Manawatu River* was a trader named Jack Duff, who was probably the first European to see the Manawatu Gorge. Taking a canoe and some native

* This river is a vital and important feature in the district to which it has been given its name. It drains an area of 2200 square miles, or 1,408,000 acres, and what gives it an unusual character is the fact that it draws its waters from both sides of parts of the Ruahine and Tararua Ranges. The river thus deriving its supplies from such a large area, and from so many extended sources with such widely different weather aspects, is naturally subject to periodical and heavy floods, which have been considerably intensified since the denudation of the forest began, and the question of re-foresting the upper portions of the ranges about the head waters of the river and its principal affluents, will no doubt arise in the future. The entrance to the Manawatu River, although lying well within the bight, is not so favourable as a roadstead as that at the Whanganui River, which is sheltered somewhat by the Waitotara Point, and has now been found to afford safe anchorage to large home-going steamers, which are loaded by lighters with frozen mutton, wool, and other produce, thus giving a direct shipment from that port. The Manawatu River has, however, the advantage of the outlying island of Kapiti, at no great distance, which gives a safe shelter to vessels awaiting entrance in bad weather. Both north and south of the bar are long sandy beaches, on which ships have come ashore from time to time. In 1878 the unusual spectacle of three large sea-going vessels ashore was afforded on the southern beach between Manawatu and Otaki, viz., the "Hydrabad" between Manawatu and Horowhenua, and the "Felix Stowe" and "City of Auckland" near Otaki.

guides he had on one occasion paddled and poled up the river, as he supposed, for a distance of fifty miles, until he came to this breach in the mountains, through which the party pulled the canoe, and navigated the higher reaches of the river which flows through Hawke's Bay, where the splendid forests and rich level land greatly impressed him. The result of this journey he communicated to Mr. Jerningham Wakefield when that gentleman paid his initial visit to the Manawatu in August, 1840, and the information thus conveyed seemed to widen in a breath the horizon of the company's sphere of influence. Mr. Wakefield had come to the Manawatu partly as an explorer and partly to inspect a little vessel which a whaler named Lewis was building on the river bank, but his reception in the district was by no means so cordial as it might have been, for at the outset he had the misfortune to meet a surly old chief named Tai Kapurua ("Full Tide") whom, as he paddled up the river, he saw sitting majestically on a log.

Thinking the circumstances demanded that he should extend to the native the courtesy of a greeting, Mr. Wakefield drew towards the shore for that purpose, but the chief, assuming that he had merely come to trade, repulsed him with the imperative command,

"Go to the sea; I have no pigs." Not even the gift of a plug of tobacco could induce "Full Tide" to relax into a more genial mood, and when Mr. Wakefield jumped into his boat and shouted the customary farewell, "Remain in thy place," as he shoved off, the *haere ki tai** came back deep and gruff from the grumpy old man as he lit his pipe and pulled his blanket more closely about him.

Fortunately, Mr. Wakefield found the majority of the natives of the Manawatu very much more sociable than surly Tai Kapurua, and many of his best friends amongst the Maoris belonged to the Ngatiraukawa of this district. But in his rare and valuable account of "Adventure in New Zealand," that gentleman gives an entertaining story of an encounter which he had some years after with another chief,† and which cannot be better told than in his own words:—

Arriving at noon at Manawatu, we found a large party of Ngatiraukawa assembled at the *pa* at the mouth of the river. Among them was a chief of high rank, by name Taratoa, whose daughter was married to Whatanui's eldest son. I had often heard of

* Go to the tide.

† Nepia Taratoa, who settled in the upper Manawatu after the conquest of that district by Te Rauparaha.

him, but had never met him before. He had also heard of me, it appeared; for after two or three lads, whom I recognised as having been engaged at Kapiti during the whaling season, had whispered to him, he motioned me to a seat by his side on a large log outside the *pa*, and addressed me with the usual greetings, telling me who he was, and that he was well-inclined towards me. I answered him, that I was in a hurry to go on, and did not like making new friendships on short acquaintance. I asked him briefly how much *utu* he wanted for putting me across the river in a canoe; as a European who had lately established a ferry a mile higher up on the opposite side was said to be up the river on a trading excursion. "*Utu!*" said Taratoa, with well-feigned indignation, "I do not ask *utu* from a great name like Tiraweke*; one great chief should never beg *utu* from another." "Launch a canoe!" shouted he to some of his assistants. "Put my white man and his people across the river!" As the canoe was small, he told me and the Yankee to get into it, and the boys should follow with their loads in another trip. I thanked him for his courtesy; but, suspecting that his sudden civility could not be genuine, I sent Smith and the boy who had got his things first, remaining myself with the one who had got mine. By the

* The Maori rendering of Wakefield.

time the canoe was half way across, some of the young men began hinting to me that a suitable present of money would be very desirable from me to the chief. As he acquiesced in this view, I took five shillings from my pocket, turned round to him, and laid them on the log between us. "As you wish to make a bargain of your courtesy to your guest," said I, "there is a shilling for each of us, and one over; I should only have paid four to go in the boat of the white *tutua*""* He would not take it up, however, at first, and said that all other passengers that were *rangatira*, had given him "money gold" for ferrying them across. He instanced "Wide-awake,"† and the three other gentlemen who had returned with their horses some days before me. "You ought to make a large present," he said, "in consideration of your great name." I was firm, however, and when the canoe came back he told me to get in. But the man who had guided it across demanded a shilling for himself, as we were going to embark. I threw one to him, and was shouting the customary farewell, when another man came up and demanded two shillings more, as the owner of the canoe. I refused; he called some of the bystanders, and hauled the canoe up high and dry on the

* Plebian or common person, as distinguished from a chief.

† The natives' nickname for Colonel Wakefield.

bank. I took no notice of this insult. Waving my hand to Smith, I shouted to him in Maori to proceed without me. "*Haere ki Poneke!*"* (Go to Port Nicholson!) I sang out, so that all the bystanders might think I was bidding him farewell. I then told my carrier to untie his kit, and to spread out my blankets on the sunny side of the log close to Taratoa. I reclined upon the blanket in chieftain-like comfort, cut up some tobacco, filled my pipe, called out to the slaves with an air of authority to bring fire, and, after lighting my pipe and taking two or three puffs, handed it familiarly to the chief. He took it from me, but forgot to use it, for he was aghast at my coolness. The pipe remained in his extended hand; his mouth was half open; his features expressed the utmost astonishment. The rest of the people, about one hundred in number, pressed closer round the log, anxious to see the upshot of my singular conduct.

At last I got up and addressed the astonished chief. "The great chief of the Ngati-parewawa," I said, "is kind to his friend, the chief of Whanganui."† "He has said that the name of Tiraweke is marked on his heart. He sees that his friend is tired with the long

* This is not a pure Maori word, but merely a Maorised version of Port Nicholson.

† Mr. Wakefield here refers to himself. He had already negotiated for the purchase of the Whanganui district, and had settled there as a trader.

walk, and he does not wish to send him across the river until his legs are rested. It is good: Tiraweke will be a *manuhiri** of Taratoa till he is strong to pursue his path. The great chief of Manawatu will clean out a house in his village for his visitor, and strew the floor with young fern. He will tell his wives and his slave women to prepare the ovens, and to lay out a feast worthy of a great name. He will send his young men to the sea for fish, and to the fresh-water creeks for the fat eels of the swamp. He will gather the finest kumara from the gardens, and bid his guest get strong on the good food of the land. Tiraweke was a fool not to see into the heart of his brother. He will smoke his pipe for two weeks in the village of the great chief, and will then carry to Port Nicholson the story of a great name that has a great heart. The white chiefs shall know the name of Taratoa. I have done."

The greatest possible change was produced by this reflection on the want of hospitality shown to one whom they had begun by pretending to receive with honour. Shouts of admiration and loud laughter at the turning of the tables burst from the crowd. The women ran to the ovens, and the old chief, perfectly delighted at finding that I had really earned my reputation among the

* An honoured guest.

natives by a knowledge of their customs and feelings, laughed heartily, and took me cordially by the hand. He insisted on my waiting until some potatoes were roasted, and then had the canoe launched and put the basket of food into it. He escorted me down to the water's edge, and then returned the money to me. "I know you want to go on now," said he, "or I would ask you to do in earnest what you proposed to do in joke. I am much ashamed; but come back soon, and pay me a long visit that I may know that you are not angry. Go to Port Nicholson."

"I often afterwards," says Mr. Wakefield, "spent several days with this chief at his various residences, and we have been ever since warm friends."

During this and former visits to the Manawatu Mr. Jerningham Wakefield was delighted with the appearance of the country. The magnificent bush, the grassy lands, and well-cultivated gardens around the Maori *pas*, caught the eye of the young Englishman, who saw in these factors great possibilities for settlement, and the wisdom of securing the district from the natives for that purpose. When returning to Wellington he called at the island of Mana, and here he met Rangihaeata, who was at some pains to impress upon him that the locality he had been inspecting

belonged to Rauparaha and himself, and that it was not for sale. Where there is a buyer, however, there can generally be found a seller, and it was not long before the Ngatiraukawa chiefs entered into negotiations with Colonel Wakefield for its sale.

The flattering reports brought by his nephew, and the need for more land upon which to settle the rapidly-arriving colonists, induced the Colonel to entertain the Ngatiraukawa proposal, and a great conference was held at Otaki, at which a large portion of the district was formally offered to the New Zealand Land Company.* In the debates which followed Rangihaeata stoutly resisted the sale, but his objections were ridiculed and overridden by Te Puke and Te Ahu Karamu, who deserves to be remembered as the chief who burned his village to compel his people to follow Te Rauparaha. In his oration to the assembled tribes, he reminded them of the sacrifices which they had made to conquer the land; that after its conquest Te Rauparaha had assigned the Manawatu to them; and he asked who, therefore, had a better right to sell it than Ngatiraukawa.

The logic of Karamu's position was unanswerable, the opposition broke down before

* This offer was made in the presence of Mr. Halswell, protector of the aborigines, and Richard Davis, a native missionary, acted as interpreter.

it, and a portion of Lower Manawatu passed into the hands of the *pakeha*. The district which Colonel Wakefield believed he had thus acquired, extended from Horowhenua in the south to Kereru in the north, and comprised about 25,000 acres of rich, level land. The price agreed upon was £900 in goods, which consisted for the most part of pots, pipes, blankets, and beads. This miscellaneous collection of commercial nothings was placed on board a small schooner and taken up the river, where it was distributed amongst the tribe by the chiefs.

A survey party was then set to work under Mr. Charles H. Kettle,* and everything was being got in readiness for the reception of the expected settlers. Although he had been frustrated in his desire to retain the Manawatu, Rangihaeata was by no means reconciled to its loss, and while the survey was going on it was his wont to go about the various *pas* storming at those who had agreed to its sale. He was particularly violent in his language and gestures when under the influence of liquor, a condition in which he was not infrequently found.

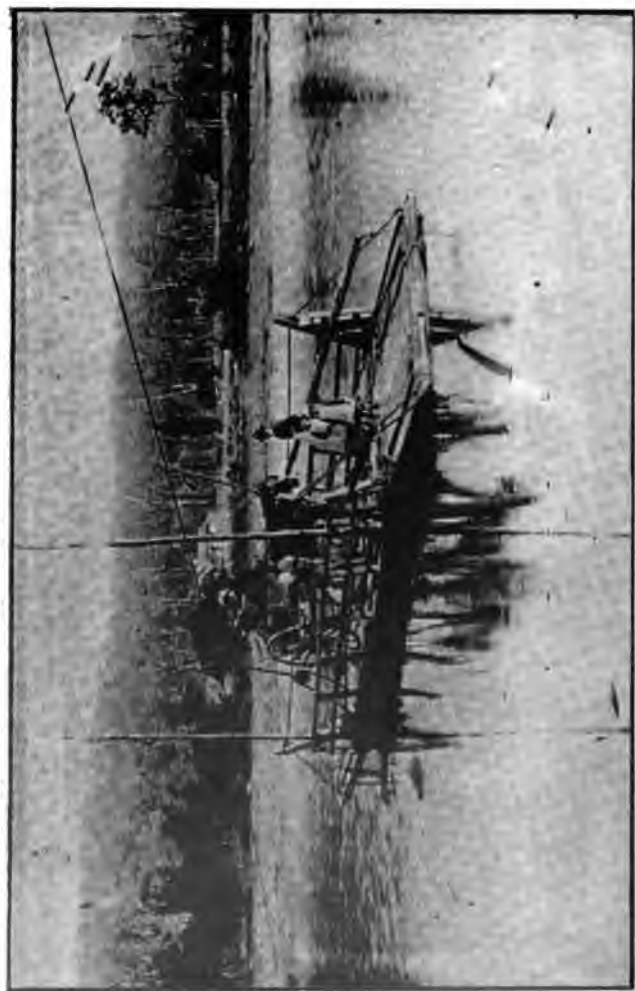
He was in this angry mood one day when Mr. Wakefield met him at the little accommodation house which Toms, the whaler,

* Father of District Judge Kettle, of Whanganui.



TE AWAHOU.

New Foxton. Sketched by Mr. J. T. Stewart in 1859.



THE OLD PUNT AT THE GORGE.

had opened at Paremata. After demanding in a very insolent tone that Tiraweke should buy him a bucketful of grog, which Tiraweke declined to do, he went on with boisterous tongue to declare that "Wide-awake" should have no more land. Manawatu had been taken from him, but Porirua had not been paid for, and he would never allow the white people to come and live there unless he received for it "money gold" in casks as high as he could reach—no small price considering that he stood six feet two inches without the aid of boots. Mr. Wakefield sat upon a rough bench, coolly smoking his pipe, while this whirlwind of invective had been going on around him, and Rangihaeata, finding that his bounce produced no apparent effect, turned to leave the room. As he did so the hitherto passive *pakeha* administered a sarcastic rebuke to the chief's angry volubility, by remarking that he had been all ears because Rangihaeata had been all mouth, and that he had remained silent because two mouths could not talk where one filled the house, a gentle jibe which was greatly enjoyed by the crowd of amused onlookers.

Later in the day Mr. Wakefield found Rangihaeata sitting in the *pa* in a much calmer frame of mind. He enquired of his visitor whether Te Ahu would arrive soon,

and on being informed that in all human probability he would, he again expressed the greatest annoyance at Ngatiraukawa having sold Manawatu. "You shall see," he said, "how I will boo-boo-boo at Te Ahu about it when he comes," implying thereby that he would give that chief a considerable piece of his mind. The verbal castigation was not, however, quite so severe as might have been expected from the bravery of his threats, and those who were present were quite satisfied that he scored no advantage over the cool and collected Te Ahu. In anticipation of the meeting clean fern had been spread on the court-yard of the *pā*, and when Te Ahu arrived he was forewarned by Mr. Wakefield as to what was likely to happen. But the old man* rather enjoyed a row, and therefore his only comment upon the information given him was to roguishly wink his eye and laconically remark, "Be a looker on."

On entering the *pā*, the visitors found Rangihaeata sitting in state with his attendants on one side of the court-yard, and they immediately took their seats on the other. The meeting was a strange mixture of friendship and half-concealed enmity, for while the

* He was known amongst the whalers and early settlers as "The Badger." While he was a firm friend to the Europeans, one of his peculiarities was a supreme contempt for the missionaries. On that account he refused to sleep in this *pā*, for just as they were finishing their evening meal the bell rang for prayers, whereupon he picked up his blanket and ordered his people to follow him, saying he would not stay to hear them sing hymns and talk what he called *hanga noa* *ho*, or "banged nonsense."

chiefs were closely related, it is not too much to say that at this moment their relations were somewhat strained. After the usual salutations, Rangihaeata rose to address the offending chief. He began by relating the history of his ancestors, and then dwelt upon his own birth and achievements. He repeated many of the bombastic assertions made in the morning, claiming the land as his, and asserting that he would not allow the greedy Europeans to come and take it all. The casks of "money gold" were again referred to, and then working himself into a furious temper his voice rose louder and louder until he fairly roared at the statuesque Te Ahu, who sat on the ground like a graven image. The gravamen of Te Ahu's offence now seemed to be that white men had been invited to come and live at Manawatu, and the district had been sold without consultation with him (Rangihaeata), and when he had expended his by no means extensive vocabulary in denouncing what he appeared to regard as a piece of unpardonable treachery, he resumed his seat with an egotistical swagger which indicated that he considered his opponent hopelessly demolished.

Nothing could have been in greater contrast to the violent behaviour of Rangihaeata than the calm and dignified manner in which Te

Ahu rose to reply. "You have said," he began, "that all the land is yours. I do not know; perhaps it is. You relate as an evil deed that I took upon myself to sell Manawatu to the white man. You say that it was not straight. Look at me! I, Te Ahu, sold Manawatu. I alone, of my own accord. I came not to consult you. I was not good to do so; I still am not good to do so. I care not for your thoughts on the matter. You have described your pedigree and spoken much of your good name. I, too, had ancestors and a father. I have a name. It is enough; I have done." The cool defiance of this speech completely nonplussed the angry Ngatitoa, who saw that he could not bounce or bully the incorrigible Te Ahu into agreement with his views. Moreover, the reference to his ancestors and his birth was an unanswerable argument, for it was well known that Te Ahu was of more aristocratic line in the Maori nobility, and as such he had the greater right to be heard in the councils of the tribe. The nett result of the conference was that Manawatu still remained with the *pakeha*.

On the 9th February, 1842, the ship "Brougham" arrived in Port Nicholson, bringing with her Mr. Brees as chief surveyor to the Company, and also a number of cadets,

who were at once despatched to assist Mr. Kettle in the survey of the Manawatu. These young gentlemen were fresh from London offices, and were without the slightest conception of what colonial life meant. When they set out along the Porirua road to walk to the scene of their labours, their dandified appearance provoked great amusement amongst those who had been roughing it in the settlement for some time. They carried brand new guns slung across their shoulders by glossy patent leather straps; their forage caps were of superfine cloth; their stiff white collars were relieved by new silk ties, while some of them even had their hands encased in gloves. As they walked along they picked their way with dainty steps between the muddy pools, and sheltered their well-shaven faces from the rays of the sun with handkerchiefs tied under their chins. The spick and span attire of the "new chums" was the subject of much comment amongst the older hands, who speculated as to how long they would retain their faultless appearance, while the cadets looked with a mixture of surprise and disdain upon the long beards and uncouth dress of the colonists.

Mr. Kettle had scarcely completed his work before the New Zealand Company became involved in disputes with the natives

concerning the title which they believed they had acquired to the country surveyed. In each of the new settlements serious unrest was being created by the claims which were everywhere springing up on the part of natives who had not been heard of when the original sale took place. The work of colonisation was practically paralysed at Port Nicholson and Whanganui by the interfering and turbulent temper of the natives, who were constantly demanding payment for the land which the settlers believed they had purchased in England. Trouble was also brewing across the Strait in Nelson from the same cause, and it was not long before the general dissatisfaction spread to the Manawatu. The absence of a proper appreciation of the Maori idea of land tenure on the part of Colonel Wakefield doubtless led him to treat with many chiefs who had less right to sell than some who had not been consulted, for he failed to recognise the important part which conquest played in the Maori land code, residence being to his mind a far clearer title to ownership than that obtained by force of arms. This undoubtedly contributed largely towards the unfortunate misunderstanding, but the real germ of the trouble lay in the mischievous effect of the missionaries' political policy. In former times the power of the chiefs had been absolute, and as they

were men of honour, they seldom repudiated a bargain to which they had committed themselves. But when the missionaries began their reconstruction of Maori society, they made no effort to preserve the dignity of chieftainship, but on the contrary devoted far more time and attention to some plebian who had become a convert than to the men whose word was law amongst the people. The effect of this mistaken policy was to undermine the authority of the chiefs, and to incite the cupidity of some slave who would not have dared to lift his voice in the councils of the tribe "before the gospel came."

But the missionaries were not alone responsible for this policy of levelling down, for Governor Hobson hurt the pride of the chiefs, and destroyed their influence, by treating all members of the tribe as equal, and ignoring their natural leaders. The result was that many natives, who would have cowered beneath a single look from a chief at the time the bargain was made with Colonel Wakefield, now came boldly forward and protested a right of ownership of which they would never have dreamed under the old order of things. These claimants were all the more arrogant in their assumptions from the knowledge that the chiefs could no longer silence their demands by the practical if not

judicial methods of force, for the law established by the *pakeha* and acknowledged by the chiefs was a complete bar to a resort to arms or personal violence. This feeling was admirably expressed by a Whanganui chief named Te Kai, who, in sympathising with Mr. Wakefield over the troubles which these aspirants to ownership had brought upon the Company, said to him, "In the old times we should have fought to have maintained you in possession of the land against those who fairly sold and have since repented and told lies, but now we are "missionaries" we can only be sorry."

But from whatever cause these disputes arose, their existence gave great concern to the authorities at Home, and a Commissioner in the person of Mr. Spain was sent out to adjudicate upon and adjust the differences between the many buyers of land and the greater number of self-constituted sellers. When the British Government decided upon this mode of settling the disputes, Colonel Wakefield contended with Governor Hobson that under their agreement the Company was entitled to a Crown grant for an area of land equal in value to their expenditure on immigration and on the surveys of the country, and that the investigation of the Court could only apply to such transactions as had been

effected by the missionaries and other individuals prior to the establishment of British authority in the colony. Captain Hobson, however, took a much broader view of the functions of the Court, holding that under the Treaty of Waitangi all purchases from the natives must come under review. He therefore refused to grant a title for the Colonel's purchases until the Commissioner's judgment had been pronounced upon them.

In determining the line upon which he would require proof of purchase, Mr. Spain decided to accept the position as he found it, with its multitude of claimants, and not to confine his investigations to ascertaining the position of affairs at the time the land was sold. He thus had not only to decide whether the chiefs who conducted the sale with Colonel Wakefield had the right to sell and did so with the full knowledge and consent of the tribes, but he also gave himself the task of enquiring into all the mushroom-like claims which had sprung up in every direction—a course which, as may be readily supposed, involved enormous delay in the settlement of each disputed case. The tedious details of this litigation need not be paraded to weary the reader, nor are we concerned in the many decisions given, it being sufficient to know that here, as

elsewhere, the claims of the Company were considerably reduced, 900 acres of land being awarded to them for their £900 in trade. This small area was in due course conveyed to the Company, the balance of the block, 23,000 acres, reverting to the natives to be afterwards sold by them to the Provincial Government.

The limitation of their Manawatu settlement to 900 acres was a serious blow to the Company, for it not only reduced the value of their assets enormously, but it contracted the field of settlement to such an extent as to render it almost worthless to the rapidly-arriving colonists, who were clamouring for land. Under these circumstances, its colonisation was practically abandoned for a time, only 400 of the 900 acres being taken up. Of these Captain Robinson acquired 200, and John and Thomas Kebbell the remaining 200; but it was not until Governor Grey's first term of office that the Crown grant was issued, and as compensation to those two settlers for the delay in being put upon their holdings the Governor doubled the area which they had agreed to take up.*

* The remaining 100 acres were given to Mr. Amos Burr as compensation for the loss of both his arms, due to an accident which occurred while firing a salute on board the *Cuba* on the day of her departure from Wellington to Kaipara, whither she was going to load spars, and where she was wrecked on the bar.

Captain Robinson, who had been an officer in the East India Company, walked overland from Hawke's Bay, and began his life in the Lower Manawatu as a trader with the natives, and the Kebbells as the pioneer saw-millers. Here about the middle of the year 1842 they commenced the erection of a 20 horse-power steam saw-mill, which they had brought from England to Wellington, and thence by sea to the Manawatu. They hoped to derive a considerable profit from cutting and shipping the timber which grew so luxuriantly along the banks of the river for thirty miles. In spite of many difficulties, they persevered with their undertaking in a remarkable way until it was complete. As each portion of the machinery was laid down, gable after gable was added to their long irregular building, which was mainly composed of a thatch roof set upon a light frame of wood. During the course of its erection the natives displayed the keenest interest in what was going on, and when the cast-iron chimney, forty feet high, rose from out of the heap of angles, and the steam was sent hissing through the pipes, the recollection of their old home at Taupo came back to the Ngatiraukawa natives, who worked themselves into a high pitch of delight and excitement at what they regarded as *he puhia mokai*, or "a tame boiling spring." As

a speculation, however, the mill was not a success, for there was too much good timber in the country immediately surrounding Wellington to allow a demand for the Manawatu product. By a misfortune, too, the day came when the thatched roof caught fire, and although the machinery was saved from serious damage, a considerable loss of other property was sustained, in addition to the complete disorganisation of the little trade that had so far been developed.

Under the Company's original scheme of settlement it had been their intention to lay out the town for Manawatu at Paiaka, and, although nothing was ever done towards the completion of the scheme, the prospect of acquiring corner sections when the township was laid off had a magnetic influence, and shortly in advance of Captain Robinson and the Kebbells came several other traders, who established their headquarters at Paiaka. Prominent amongst these were Messrs. Thomas Uppadine Cook and Charles Hartley. The former built a wooden store, which for several years formed the central point around which the trade of the district revolved; while the latter maintained an itinerant commerce with the Maoris, until he, in company with Mr. Bevan, adopted the more permanent occupation of rope-making. The trade of the

district soon grew to be both varied and voluminous, and consisted chiefly of pigs, potatoes, wheat, and flax. Pigs ran sleek and fat in all parts of the district, and the Maori quickly learned their commercial value and became enthusiastic bacon raisers. Potatoes, too, were grown with comparatively little effort, and yielded a plentiful crop, while on many a small clearing wheat was sown broadcast and then chipped into the ground with the native adze. Owing to the fertility of the soil, even this crude method gave very satisfactory results, and after the harvest had been reaped and ground by the enterprising Kebbells, who had added a grinding plant to their sawmill, the flour was shipped to Wellington in small schooners* and the mosquito fleet which had by this time sprung up, for the trade of the time was not confined to the Manawatu, but all the smaller rivers, such as the Otaki and Waikanae, were being systematically exploited for the sake of Maori commerce.

But the staple product of the district in the early days of European settlement was flax, which was prepared by the natives, at first by the tedious plan of scraping it with a mussel-shell, and then hanging it in the sun

* A few of these coasters were built on the river bank where the timber was plentiful. In 1840 Captain Lewis, an American, built a small cutter of 30 tons burthen at a spot about 15 miles from the river's mouth, and in 1851-52 Messrs George Nye and Frank Abel built two 40-ton vessels for the local trade.

to dry, a process which resulted in producing a bright silky fibre. This method was necessarily a slow one, and when the demand for the hemp became greater they adopted the more expeditious system of scraping it upon a piece of hoop-iron fixed between two sticks driven into the ground. The result was much coarser work, but as the greater part of the flax was used for wool-lashings in Australia, fine dressing was no longer required. Still, there was a considerable demand for large and small cordage, which was used for running lines on board the whalers and smaller craft which were becoming fairly numerous along the coast. It was to supply this demand that the rope-walks were established on the river bank, the first to launch into the enterprise being a Scotch sail-maker named Anderson, and his example was soon followed by Messrs. Hartley and Bevan, and by a Mr. Nash, who was a weaver by trade. At Motoa and other places they worked up the raw material for manufacture, and for a time their operations were conducted on a somewhat extensive scale.

The ranks of the few whites who were already settled in the district as traders or otherwise, were now gradually reinforced by the arrival of others anxious to make a beginning for themselves; and a notable

addition to their numbers took place about this time when several of the men who had been engaged on survey with Mr. Kettle, decided to come and throw in their lot with the pioneers. These men were Robert Nankvill, William McDonald, Thomas Scott, and William Barnett, each of whom proved a useful member of the infant community.

The only means of communication with Wellington at this period was either to sail down the coast in one of the small cutters, or to tramp laboriously along the sea beach. Long and tiresome as this journey would seem now, it was thought nothing of in those days, and as the natives were as a general rule exceedingly well-disposed towards the settlers, it was accompanied by little inconvenience except fatigue.* Outside the native *pā*s which were scattered about the district, the only places of call along this sea-beaten route was Mr. Hector McDonald's house on the edge of Lake Horowhenua, and a rough little hostelry at the mouth of the Manawatu River, afterwards known as the Wharangi Hotel. Here the great chiefs, when travelling to and from their various settlements,

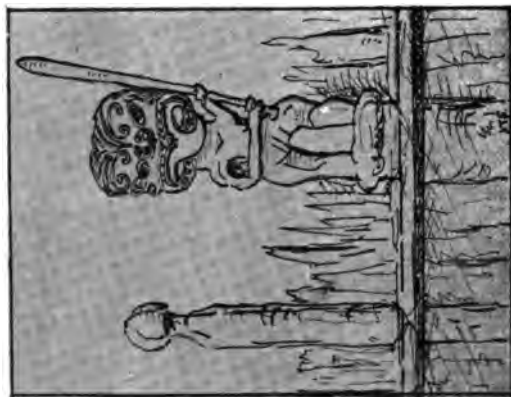
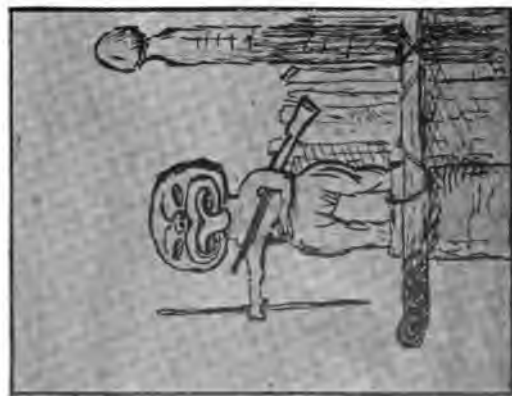
* The traveller took far greater risks from the difficulties of the country than from the natives, standing, as he did, in daily peril of being either drowned in a river or lost in the bush. The travelling along the beach was particularly good at low tide, and before the bush was cleared away it was the custom of the early settlers to hold horse races on the sands, using the hull of a wrecked vessel for a grand stand.

were wont to entertain and be entertained by their friends. But it must not be supposed that their hospitality was confined to one festive glass. Nothing would so offend the dignity of a Maori *rangatira*, who wished to appear big in the eyes of the *pakeha*, as to offer him the orthodox long-beer of to-day. They did things on a much more magnificent scale. Nothing less than a bucketful would satisfy them, and even then they would not be content until pannikins were supplied to everyone present, so that all might share equally in the enjoyment. In the same way they expected to be treated, and it is little wonder that the custom patronised by the chiefs was soon practised by less important personages, with the result that there was many a "wet" day at Wharangi, even when there was not a drop of rain.

Towards the year 1844 the European settlers were becoming fairly numerous, while the natives were not diminishing, and to minister to their spiritual welfare the Cameronian Church of Scotland sent out the Revs. James Duncan and John Inglis to be resident missionaries in the district. They established their first mission station at Te Marie, near Shannon, but Mr. Inglis did not remain long, as the field was not sufficiently large for two energetic men, and he and his wife left for



SURVEYING THE OROUA RIVER.
Sketched by Mr. J. T. Stewart, 1859.



CARVED FIGURES AT MARARATAPA PA.
Near Awapuni. Sketched by Mr. J. T. Stewart in 1859.

the New Hebrides to still further spread the light of the gospel. Mr. Duncan, however, continued in the sphere of labour appointed for him by his mother Church, and there are none of the old settlers who will not bear the most willing testimony to the value and sincerity of his efforts to impress upon white and brown alike the blessings of Christianity.

There were, of course, no roads through the bush, and any land journeys which had to be made to the outlying settlers could only be accomplished with the greatest difficulty. The river was the real highway of the district, and, paddled in his canoe by a crew of natives, Mr. Duncan was unremitting in his visits to the *pas* and settlements along its bank. The earnest ministrations and helpful example of so worthy a man could not fail to make a deep and lasting impression, for not only did he bring consolation to the mind of many an anxious *pakeha*, but he carried conviction to the receptive soul of the Maori, many of whom, through his labours, discarded their heathen gods and died in the full acceptance of the Christian faith.

But it was not alone in spiritual matters that Mr. Duncan came as a blessing to the brown people of the Manawatu, for he was the first man in the Wellington province, if not the first in New Zealand, to teach the

Maori the use of figures and of weights and measures. At first this was no light or simple task, for while the natives had a very keen appreciation of the difference between yellow and white coins, and knew perfectly well when they were getting a sovereign and when they were getting sixpence, they had no conception of the value of arithmetic. Thus, while Mr. Duncan could show them that two sixpences made a shilling, the moment he put the calculation into figures he was repeatedly met with the query, "But where's the shilling?" His pupils appeared to have some idea that the money should rise as if by magic out of the chalk marks, and because no such miracle happened, it took all the more time and pains to convince them that there was any merit in the system. However, after much patient labour the initial difficulties were overcome, and henceforth those who wished to trade had in self-defence to be able to demonstrate by an arithmetical calculation that 2 and 2 did not make 5.*

These innovations were not to the liking of those traders who had previously operated as largely upon the native ignorance as upon

* Dr. Rookstrow tells of a Muaupoko chief who desired to get his education in a much more mechanical way. He had noticed many people reading with spectacles, and he conceived the idea that if he could only get a pair he would be able to read too. The doctor accordingly presented him with his own glasses, and although they did not have the desired effect, old Te Rangirupuru was very proud of them, and would often sit outside his *whare* with the spectacles on his nose, and a paper in front of him, looking as wise as a Judge on the Bench.

the value of their goods. Under the old *regime* a pig or a blanket was the equivalent for half a ton of flax, but when the days of enlightenment came, and the natives learned to sell flax by weight, they wanted a good many pigs and more blankets for the same quantity. In a like manner, when they were selling potatoes, the former custom had been to lay the kits in a row on the ground, and the trader would come along, and after careful inspection he would place a stick or more of tobacco on each kit, according to the value he himself put upon its contents. Though passionately fond of tobacco, the natives did not confine their trade to that article, and if a maid or matron yearned for a new dress, she would lay her potatoes on the ground, and so many yards of print or calico would be spread out until the buyer and seller had agreed how much the one would give and how little the other would take. All this happy-go-lucky system, however, gradually vanished under the arithmetical rules taught by Mr. Duncan, and the trade between the two races was soon put upon the much more equitable basis which prevailed amongst the Europeans themselves.

The pioneer stages of the district were thus proceeding slowly but satisfactorily. Every year saw a slight increase in the population

and an addition to the volume of its exports. The township of Paiaaka, too, was showing signs of the general advancement, for it was no longer marked by a single store, but had quite a number of wooden buildings of no great architectural beauty, certainly, but substantial and sufficient for their purpose.

In a general way little friction had been experienced with the natives, the two races living together on very amicable terms. Still, irritation and inconvenience was caused by the narrow area within which a freehold title could be obtained, and here and there a settler who desired to establish himself at a particular spot came into conflict with the alleged owners, who in some cases agreed to accept payment, and in others refused to permit settlement under any circumstances whatever. It was evident that the Maori now began to realise the value of his land, for seeing the hunger which prevailed amongst the Europeans to obtain it, that which had formerly been a drug on his hands, though a fruitful cause of strife, now became a marketable commodity, for which he could obtain the much-coveted "money gold."

Further, the conservative type of chief like Rangihaeata, saw that with the sale of the land the Maori must retire before the advance of the whites, for they knew that their

barbarous methods could not prevail against the civilisation of the *pakeha*, and that in the race of the future their people must be outrun and their own power dwindle and die. The efforts of these men were therefore constantly exerted to prevent the alienation of the land, and, so far as the Manawatu was concerned, they succeeded for a time in over-ruling their more progressive brethren.

But early in the year 1855 the little settlement received a much ruder shock than had yet been experienced by any refusal on the part of the natives to transfer their heritage to the settlers. At 9 o'clock on the night of January 29th, the whole colony was shaken by one of the most severe seismic disturbances which had been felt since its establishment, or within the memory of the natives. Its vibrations were felt with especial severity in and around Wellington, and extended all over the Manawatu. In many places the face of the country was considerably altered by the upheavals, and the terror-stricken people rushed from their creaking houses only to be turned sick by the giddy motion of the earth. Huge gulches were torn in the hillsides, and long fissures were opened on the flats, in some cases a few inches and in others many feet wide, which to-day may be traced as blind watercourses

with no entrance and no outlet. Many of these gaping holes were seen upon the few cleared spaces, others were well within the bush and were not discovered for many years afterwards, but the most apparent effect of Nature's contortions was to be seen in the twisted and wrecked condition of the Paiaka township. Such rude houses as the settlers had already erected suffered considerably, not a few of the less substantial being thrown to the ground, while the remainder were left so inconveniently angular that their owner's only option was to demolish them with as little delay as possible. In the general wreck the mill of Messrs Kebbells Bros. seemed to suffer most, for steam-pipes were snapped in all directions and the machinery thrown out of level, to say nothing of the serpentine condition in which the long irregular building was left by the undulations of the land. The distorted condition in which everything was left, after the last vibrations had died away, made it plain to the Kebbells that work could be resumed only after the expenditure of much labour and money in repairs, and, as the trade had not up to that time justified their enterprise, they decided not to re-erect the mill, but to transfer the plant to Wellington, where they believed a more profitable field awaited them.

This decision, together with the fact that

the district immediately surrounding Paiaka had suffered more severely than that nearer to the mouth of the Manawatu River, caused the principal traders resident in the township to consider the advisability of moving to what they deemed to be safer quarters. Those houses which the earthquake had not destroyed were accordingly pulled down, and the pieces of those which had fallen were gathered together and transported to the site which is now Foxton.

This locality, then known as Te Awahou, had originally been a native reserve, but had never been used for residential purposes by the owners, and at the date in question it was occupied by Captain Robinson and his nephew, Dr. Best, as a cattle run.* Amongst those who shared in this general move from Paiaka were the Rev. Mr. Duncan; Mr. Nash, who commenced operations in his original business as a weaver; and Mr. Thomas Cook,

* At this time Captain Robinson's house was the principal residence in the district, and here he and Mrs Robinson had the pleasure of entertaining most of the notable people who passed through the colony in those early days. Prominent amongst these visitors was the present Marquis of Salisbury, who when a young man, and with the title of Lord Robert Cecil, landed at New Plymouth in August, 1852, and travelled down the coast to Wellington. He stayed several days at Foxton, and was much interested in the growth of the district. In a later year Sir Charles Dilke was also a guest of Captain and Mrs Robinson. He was at this time collecting material for his "Greater Britain," and was an interested witness of the final scene at the purchase of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block. Captain and Mrs Robinson at times had also much less welcome visitors in the persons of boisterous Maoris, and Mrs Robinson has a lively recollection of the time when Rangihaeata invaded her house during her husband's absence and demanded to be supplied with grog, which of course was refused him. But for the good offices of Te Rauparaha, who silenced his noisy relative, it is difficult to say what the result would have been.

who opened a bakery and general store, in which everything from the proverbial needle to an anchor was sold.

To facilitate his business as a trader, Mr. Cook also built a small wharf, to which the vessels came to load and discharge their cargoes in the days of the "Mary Ann," the "Mary Jane," the "Hanna," "Scotia," and "Wellington." These craft varied from ten to forty tons,* and were worked by the whalers from Kapiti, doing yeoman service for the district until the year 1860, when Captain Kennedy brought the "Wongawonga" into the river. She was the first steamer that had crossed the Manawatu Bar, but the experiment was sufficiently successful to induce others to make the same venture, and it was not long before she was followed by the "Napier," and the more recent steamers which have gradually displaced the slower sailers in the regular trade.

These early mariners had neither light-house nor beacon to guide them, but they navigated the intricate channels with remarkable skill. Occasionally, however, the best of them would get caught in some unfriendly current or tossed on some unfriendly wave, and as a result find themselves

* The largest vessel which up to this time had entered the river was the "Ann," of Sydney, in which the plant for Kebbells sawmill had been brought to the district.

high and dry on a sand-spit. But whenever this untoward event occurred, there was always a band of young fellows willing to jump into their canoes and go down to the Bar and work like Trojans in discharging the cargo until the vessel was light enough to float off with the next tide; and with the characteristic generosity of the time they expected neither fee nor reward for their services, but simply regarded them as a friendly turn to help a lame dog over a stile.

The native *pas* along the river bank were still fairly numerous, and it is estimated they contained a population of 3400* souls. Their cultivations were many and extensive, and generally the chiefs and tribesmen adapted themselves to the new order of things with ease and goodwill. Towards the end of 1855, when the benefits of the teaching of Messrs. Hadfield and Duncan began to manifest themselves along the coast, the natives showed their fervour in matters spiritual by building churches in their villages, those at Waikanae and Otaki being notable examples of this ecclesiastical period. But when the King movement rose into prominence, a change came over the native mind. From religion they turned to politics, and from church

* These numbers were somewhat reduced towards the close of 1855 by an epidemic resembling influenza, which visited the West Coast and attacked the natives with especial virulence. Hundreds were laid upon beds of sickness by the malady, and nearly 200 died from its effects.

building they diverted their enthusiasm to the erection of large meeting houses, in which they sat nightly debating the merits of a Maori Sovereign.*

It is a fact here justly worthy of observation that at this period there appeared to be no one who claimed any right of possession in the native land except the three conquering tribes—Ngatitōa, Ngatiawa, and Ngatiraukawa. The dominion of each of these tribes, too, was well defined, and in no case do we hear of the original inhabitants contesting the right of ownership with them.

In his despatches to the officials of the New Zealand Company, Colonel Wakefield made it plain that in purchasing the district in question he dealt only with the conquerors, and it is noticeable that from the description of his journeys between Wellington and Whanganui, Mr. Jerningham Wakefield seems to have come into contact only with the chiefs of the same tribes, and he does not even mention the Ngatiapa, Rangitane, or Muaupoko, except to speak of them as "the miserable remnant of the original people," who were living in a state of fear

* In 1831 Tawhiao, the then Maori King, visited the natives living near Foxton, and travelled as far south as Otaki. He was loyally received by the natives, and generously entertained by the Europeans. Before leaving Foxton, he paid a visit to all the principal shops, and purchased large quantities of miscellaneous articles—his method of showing appreciation of the hospitality extended to him

and general dejectedness. So complete, apparently, was their subjection, that no one would have dreamed of entering into treaty with them for the purchase of land; and, therefore, when the Provincial authorities of Wellington turned their eyes to the Manawatu, in 1858, with a view to purchasing it as an outlet for the growing population at Port Nicholson, and of giving the settlers already there a title, it is not surprising that they opened their negotiations with the Ngati-raukawa chiefs, and not with the Rangitane or Ngatiapa people.

For many reasons, the portion of the district most desired by Dr. Featherston* and his Executive was that which extended from the mouth of the Manawatu River for thirty miles along its banks, including the spot to which the former inhabitants of Paiaka had removed, where it was intended to lay off a town which would also serve as a port for the large extent of back country, when the time came to bring that area within the bounds of civilisation. This area was known as the Awahou Block, and comprised some 37,000 acres. The price agreed upon was £2,500, and the lord of all the land with whom the bargain was made, on behalf of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, was a dignified and

* Superintendent of the Province of Wellington.

high-minded *rangatira* named Ihakara Tukumarū. He was acknowledged on all sides to be the superior chief of that part, and although Nepia Taratoa doubted and debated with Ihakara the wisdom of the step, he never questioned that chief's right to dispose of the land if he felt so inclined, and a deposit of £400 was paid to Ihakara so soon as his consent to the sale was confirmed, the balance being paid at a subsequent date.

Mention, however, must be here made of the fact that of these payments a sum of £50 was handed to two Ngatiapa chiefs, not in liquidation of any recognised claim put in by them, but as a gift from Ihakara. Mr. Searancke, in reporting the payment to Mr. Donald McLean,* said it was made "by desire of Ihakara," and that chief in a subsequent statement made the circumstances under which it was given particularly clear. "When Awahou, at Foxton, was sold," he said, "it was Ngatiraukawa alone who sold it. Kawana Hunia and Kepa (Kemp) then came and asked that some money should be given to them from the sale under the *mana* of the Ngatiraukawa. Ngatiraukawa then consented and gave them £50. Had they

* Mr. Donald McLean (afterwards Sir Donald) was at this time Chief Native Land Purchase Commissioner, and Mr. W. N. Searancke was District Commissioner. In his letter to Mr. McLean he says in reference to the payment of £50, "This is the second payment on this (Awahou) block, and was made to the Ngatiapa by desire of Ihakara, and will be deducted from the gross amount agreed upon."

demanded it under their own *mana* no money would have been given to them."

The purchase of the first block of land in the Manawatu by the Provincial authorities was thus perfectly satisfactory, as the title was disputed by neither Maori nor European, and it was not long before the township of Foxton was laid out and started on its career with a white population of about one hundred souls.

Almost immediately overtures were made by the Rangitane chiefs for the sale of the adjoining block, known as Ahuaturanga, which included the area that has since become the site of the town of Palmerston North. There was at first some friction between the Ngati-raukawa and Rangitane chiefs as to the right of the latter to sell, but by the generosity of the former these difficulties were soon overcome, and in October, 1858, the preliminary survey of the blocks was commenced by Mr. J. T. Stewart, under instructions from Mr. Donald McLean, then at the head of the Native Department.

The survey included the defining of the general boundaries of the blocks and the marking out of the reserves to be kept by the natives when selling to the Government. Of the two blocks the Ahuaturanga was the more important, and its boundaries are officially

stated as starting from Te Weki and Roto-piko on the Manawatu River, and going in a S.E. direction across the Makurerua swamp to Mangawharawhara and on to Arawaru in the Tararua range of hills. From this point the boundary follows this range of hills northerly to Te Apiti (Manawatu Gorge) and thence along the slope of the Ruahine range of hills to a gorge on the Pohangina River called Te Anaowiro, and thence to the River Oroua at a place named Te Imutoi, and thence follows the course of the river downwards to Te Rua Puha, a point about ten miles by the river course above Te Awahuri, the highest native settlement; from Te Rua Puha the boundary leaves the river and goes in a southerly direction by Waikuku and Te Puka and on to the starting point at Te Weki, on the Manawatu River.

The total area of this block was 250,000 acres, and it was described by the surveyor in 1859 as follows:—

“The large area included in this block is mostly bush land, only a portion of which is liable to floods. This portion is on the lower part for some way on both sides of the Manawatu River, from Te Weki up as far as Karere, extending on the northern side inland by the head of the Taonui swamp as far as Te Waiti, and on the south side

across the upper end of the large swamp called Makurerua. There is a considerable-sized piece of clear land called Te Horo on the south side of the river, lying surrounded by bush at the foot of the hills. There are also several old clearings on the banks of the Manawatu, such as Pihauatua and Raukawa on the south side, and at Karere, Ruahine, and Te Wi on the north side, and several others smaller in area, which are covered with coarse grass and scrub. There is also a fine clear space in the bush northward of the upper part of the river, between Maraetarata and Te Wi. This opening is called Papaioea* and would form a good site for a township."

As the country was nearly all dense bush, to cut lines through it would have involved considerable labour and long delay. The surveyors, therefore, used the river margins for survey purposes, crossing from side to side as was most expedient to get easy lines. This was especially the case with the Pohangina River and along the upper course of the Oroua, where one side might give a good line over the shingle banks and river-bed flats, while on the opposite side the water washed against high bluffs and steep cliffs.

In this manner the Manawatu River was traversed from its mouth to the Gorge, and the

* This spot afterwards became the site of Palmerston North.

Pohangina and the Oroua from their junctions with the Manawatu to their sources in the Ruahine Ranges.

This close adhesion to the river courses did not escape the notice of the natives, and they were not a little concerned about it, fearing that a report based upon the limited view thus obtained might be unfavourable. Te Hirawanu, the principal chief, then residing at the Raukawa *pa*, therefore made it his business to see Mr. Stewart, and said to him, "You are keeping to the rivers in your survey, and you will tell the Government that there are only water and shingle in our block. Come with me and I will show you something better." He accordingly took him through the bush on the following Sunday, and showed him Papaioea clearing, with which the surveyor was so impressed that he marked it on the map as "a good site for a township."

While the survey was in progress, the nearest supply for provisions was at Hartley's, who then lived at Te Maire, near the present town of Shannon; at the Kebbells,' a little lower down; at Cook's store at Foxton; and at Scott's accommodation house at the mouth of the Rangitikei River. Native produce such as potatoes, etc., could be got at the several small settlements along the Manawatu and Oroua river banks, and no provisions were

carried by the party except such necessities as tea, sugar, flour, and rice. The meat supply was obtained from wild pigs, pigeons, and eels. There were no wild cattle in the bush then, but the pigs were plentiful enough, and a large proportion of them were fit for food.

The services of the Maoris were freely enlisted in connection with the survey; in fact, they formed the greater number of the men employed, and they and the natives generally proved themselves most trustworthy in all their dealings throughout the extended survey in which they were so much interested. When Mr. Stewart entered the district there were no native *pas* in the Pohangina Valley; nor any along the lengthy course of the Oroua River above Te Awahuri. There was, however, a stockaded *pa* at Awahuri itself, one at Puketotara (Oroua Bridge), one at Maraetarata (near Awapuni), and one at Raukawa (on the south side of the river near the Gorge), all of which were decorated with the strangely-carved figures familiar to all acquainted with Maori art. There were, of course, no roads, and the surveyors had to pick their way as best they could through the bush and scrub, which was occasionally pierced by a narrow, half-cleared native track.

In the upper parts of the Oroua and

Pohangina, the succession of deep pools and bluffs made it necessary to carry the survey line across the river two or three times in a mile, and sometimes in a shallow reach right up the centre of the stream* to avoid climbing the bush-covered and hilly banks. Boots and shoes gave out in this water and gravel travelling, and all the party, except the Maoris, whose feet were stone-proof, were reduced to wearing sandals made from the dry leaves of the *tī*,† or to covering their feet with pig skin laced over the remains of their shoes.

The narrow strip of land between the western boundary of the Ahuaturangi Block and the Oroua River, called the Oroua Block, was also included in the survey, although not purchased from the natives. It contained 20,000 acres, and has since been mostly settled by private negotiation with the Maori owners. The land near the mouth of the Manawatu River, known as the Te Awahou Block, was also surveyed in 1859, the boundaries being as follows:—

Commencing at Kai-iwi, on the beach, and running in an easterly direction to Oroua Kaitau, and thence through Omarupapaku bush to the road or path Te Pukehinaio-o-te-kura, and along the edge of the Ototara

* See sketches taken in 1859 by Mr. J. T. Stewart.

† A species of cabbage tree.

swamp, thence to Pukenahau on the River Manawatu, and down the River Manawatu to its mouth on the coast and along the coast to Kai-iwi, where the boundary commenced.*

This block contained about 25,000 acres, part of which had been surveyed by the New Zealand Company into sections and allotted to their shareholders, but for reasons already given were never occupied by them. These sections extended along the river bank from Shannon to a line opposite Karere, and after the dispute regarding the original sale, the selectors were given the option of taking up land elsewhere, or of waiting until the Government acquired the land and could give them a satisfactory title. The majority availed themselves of the former choice, but for those who preferred to wait, sections were laid off when the district was finally surveyed for settlement in 1865.

* Kai-iwi was on the beach about two miles north of the entrance of the river. Omarupapaku was a clump of white pine trees, conspicuous from the sea, and marked on old charts as a land mark in making the Manawatu entrance. It was made a harbour reserve for this purpose on the recommendation of the surveyor. The first settlers and sailors had a difficulty in pronouncing its Maori name, and it was familiarly known amongst them as "Old Mother Parker."

CHAPTER IV.

RANGITIKEI-MANAWATU.

So let it be. In God's own might
We gird us for the coming fight.
And, strong in Him whose cause is ours,
In conflict with unholy powers,
We grasp the weapons He has given—
The Light, and Truth, and Love of Heaven.

The settlement of native land disputes has never been at any time a matter of simplicity, and either from the practice of regarding Maori land from the European standpoint, or from a desire on the part of some unscrupulous schemers to "grab" more than they were entitled to, there has been no branch of New Zealand's judicature which has been so prolific of strife, delay, and heart-burning as the Native Land Courts. Of this probably no instance was more typical than the dispute which arose out of the purchase by the Provincial Government of the land in the upper part of this district, for there raged for years a storm of litigation around

the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block which not only strained the relations between European settlers, but at one time threatened to break out in inter-tribal war. So important an episode in the life of the district cannot, of course, be ignored in any work presuming to set forth its historical outline, and therefore it is the author's duty to state with all impartiality such of the ascertained facts in connection with it as are at his disposal. At this distance of time, however, when almost all who were engaged in making or unravelling the complications of the case are gone, and when the memories of those participants who are still alive have grown seer and yellow in the autumn of life, the historian must rely mainly upon documents still extant, and for his interpretation of those documents he must depend upon his own judgment. If that judgment should lead to conclusions opposed to those of the Native Land Court Judges, he will not be so presumptuous as to say "so much the worse for the Judges," but will rest content with the reflection that amidst such a conflict of truth and falsehood no one could well be blamed for going astray.

As will be seen by the foregoing sketch, the approximate division of the tribal lands prior to Te Rauparaha's invasion was that the Rangitane and Ngatiapa jointly occupied the

country between the Rangitikei and Manawatu Rivers, the Muaupoko dwelt in the vicinity of the Horowhenua Lake, and southwards of them, towards Otaki and Waikanae, the land was occupied by various minor branches of the race. Their intertribal wars had not been of such magnitude as to cause vast and sweeping changes, for in none of these tribes did the war spirit run sufficiently high to make conquerors of them. By persistent pressure and the fusion of mutual friendship, the Ngatiapa had gradually encroached upon the land of the Rangitane, and obtained a footing on the south side of the Rangitikei River. For exactly how long they had enjoyed this lordship over the land is not known, but they were undoubtedly there when Te Rau-paraha first marched through the country, and to this, and to the fact that Te Rangihaeata took one of their women to be his wife, was due the Ngatiapa claim to a share in the proceeds of the sale which gave rise to the dispute, and the perpetration of an act which many people believe to have been a grave miscarriage of justice.

In considering a question of this kind, it is of vital importance that the influence of conquest should be borne in mind, for under the Maori code the tribe which proved itself

victorious in the field sealed with the blood of its dead their right to the soil. This ancient custom is so well established as scarcely to require confirmation here; but in order that nothing may be stated that cannot be sustained, the following references to two well known authorities may help to make good the position. In a despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Government House, 17th December, 1863, Sir George Grey, then Governor of the colony, says :—

I ought to mention to Your Grace that I believe I was the first to recommend the forfeiture of lands by those natives who took up arms against us, and I did so because such a proceeding is in conformity with their own custom.

Two years later Mr. Fox,* in reply to a protest lodged by the Aborigines' Protection Society against the confiscation of Maori lands, justified the policy of the Government in the following lucid paragraph :—

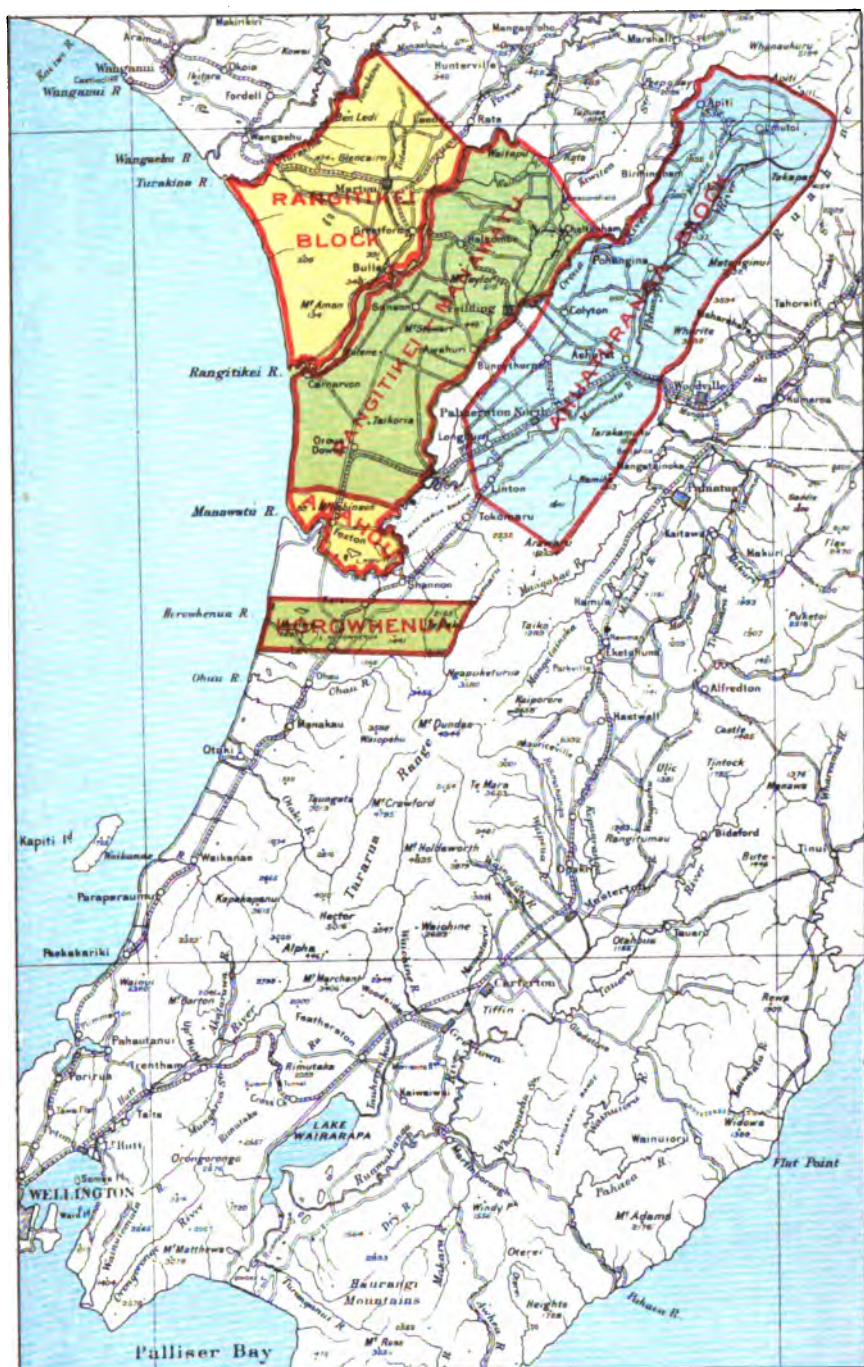
In the first place it is the custom which has always been recognised by the Maoris themselves. In their wars a conquered tribe not only forfeited its lands, but the vanquished survivors were reduced to a tributary position, and large numbers to personal slavery. The Government of New Zealand has always recognised such a title as valid, and a very large proportion, if not an absolute majority, of the purchases of land from the Maoris have been made on the basis of a recognition of this right of conquest.

* Afterwards Sir William Fox.

If it were necessary to pursue the matter further, instances might be enumerated in which the conquerors actually received the payment for the purchased districts,* but beyond pointing out that the Treaty of Waitangi recognised as a broad principle the title by conquest, and ratified all such transactions prior to 1840, it is scarcely needful to further elaborate a position which cannot be assailed. The whole merits of the dispute which took place between the Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa tribes in reference to the sale of the Manawatu - Rangitikei Block thus centres on the question of conquest, for the only real issue which the Court had to decide in 1869 was whether the original owners had been subdued by the Ngatitōa, and the conquered country handed over by them to their allies, the Ngatiraukawa.

In a previous chapter the circumstances under which these strangers became masters of the Manawatu have been sufficiently detailed. It may be charged against the completeness of the conquest, that no specific battles were fought in this district, but that was not the fault of the Ngatitōa or Ngatiraukawa, but of the Ngatiapa, who invariably fled to the mountains so soon as it was known

* This was the case in the Middle Island, where 8,000,000 acres were purchased from the Ngatitōa and Ngatiawa tribes in 1856, by Mr. Donald McLean.



MAP SHOWING NATIVE BLOCKS.

Scale, 16 miles to an inch.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

that a war party was in the vicinity. At least ample opportunity was offered to them to contest the Ngatiraukawa right to possession when the latter settled on the land, for their first act of sovereignty was to allocate to each of the leading chiefs some minor district which was to be his and his people's to deal with as they pleased. "Our lands have been marked off for this man and for that man, for this section and for that section," is a native's description of the subdivision by the conquerors, under which Te Whatanui became chief at Horowhenua, Ihakara Tukumarū chief of the Lower Manawatu, and Nepia Taratoa chief of the Upper district as far as the Wangaehu River.

When once they had made a certainty of their conquest, the Ngatiraukawa appear to have been remarkably generous and humane in their treatment of the conquered tribes, a leniency for which they received no thanks here, whatever their reward may be hereafter. Thus matters seemed to proceed with comparative smoothness until the arrival of some of the European settlers in the Rangitikei district.

These people, desiring to get a title to the land, and not recognising the difference between the conquering and conquered chiefs, began to traffic with the Ngatiapa, who were

shrewd enough to see the possibilities of making a revenue out of the territory, and who then conceived the idea of selling the land to the Government. This immediately led to angry disputes with the Ngatiraukawa, whose opposition to the sale presented an insuperable barrier to the negotiations which Mr. McLean had commenced for the purchase of the Rangitikei block. Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata were simply furious at the suggestion that the Ngatiapa, whom they described as "the remnant of their meal," should have a voice in the sale at all, and they loudly upbraided the Ngatiraukawa chiefs for having interposed to prevent the completion of their work of extermination, which would have set at rest for ever all such spurious claims.

Finally, after much careful negotiation, and the expenditure of much bitterness on both sides, the matter was compromised by the Ngatiraukawa agreeing to hand back the whole of the country between the Wangaehu and Rangitikei Rivers, thus giving the Ngatiapa the sole right to deal with it, conditionally upon their undertaking never to question the Ngatiraukawa title to the district south of the Rangitikei River. Mr. Buller,* who conducted the principal part

* Now Sir Walter Buller.

of the negotiations for the purchase of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block, says on this phase of the question :—

It appears that when the Ngatiapa, in 1849, surrendered to the Crown the land lying between the Whanganui and Rangitikei Rivers, they compromised the conflicting Ngatiraukawa claims of conquest by conceding to the latter the right of disposal over the territory to the south of the Rangitikei, with the mutual understanding that as the Ngatiraukawa had received a share of the payments,* the Ngatiapa should in like manner participate in the purchase money of this block whenever the Ngatiraukawa should sell. With the lapse of years the Ngatiapa have come to regard their claim as one of absolute right, in every respect equal to that of the present holders, while the latter always regarding the claim as one of sufferance, are now disposed to ignore it altogether.

Matene te Whiwhi, a well-known chief of the west, thus states the relative positions of the tribes, and the handing over of the land by the Ngatiraukawa :—

The Ngatiapa and Rangitane had lost all authority over these lands as far as Wairarapa long before the Treaty of Waitangi came in 1840. At the time the treaty was signed they had no authority over the land. The Ngatiraukawa quietly handed over the other side of Rangitikei to Ngatiapa for them to sell to Mr. McLean, which made that sale complete.

Again Rawari te Whanui, a deacon of the Church of England, says :—

When Ngatiraukawa heard that Rangitikei was

* Either Mr. Buller was misled in his original information, or the original agreement was not carried out, for the Ngatiraukawa tribe received no part of the £1500 paid for the Rangitikei Block in 1849.

being sold they assembled to stop the sale of this side. They agreed to allow the other side to be sold on condition that Ngatiapa should abandon all claim to this side, to which Ngatiapa agreed. Ngatiraukawa did not receive any of the money payment for the land, though it was through them having given their consent that the land was sold and Ngatiapa got the money.

The privilege thus conferred on Ngatiapa of selling the most northern block was exercised to the full without let or hindrance on the part of the Ngatiraukawa, who faithfully discharged their part of the understanding. The sale took place in the military parade ground at Whanganui on the 15th of May, 1849, and was attended by the officers of the 65th Regiment as well as several other gentlemen prominently connected with the settlement of the colony. When the whole of the natives had congregated in the square, Mr. Donald McLean, the Land Purchase Commissioner, addressed them upon the subject which had brought them together, and requested them to make any statement they wished before signing the deed of sale, so that all might know the favourable disposition or otherwise by which they were influenced in parting with their land to the Government.

The principal chiefs then rose one by one and declared in most emphatic terms their fixed and mature determination to dispose of their lands to the Queen, and as earnestly

expressed their desire to participate in the advantages which would follow from the residence of a large European population in their immediate vicinity. The deed of sale was then read over, the natives by nods and exclamations fully assenting to the boundaries and other conditions named therein. There were, however, two dissentients. Reihana and Ngawaka demanded that larger reserves should be set aside than had already been provided for, but this artful pair were at once silenced by the rebukes of George King, the chief of Putikimaranui, who remonstrated against such untimely requests when it was well known to all the tribe that the whole block had been offered to the Government. With their opposition thus smartly squelched, Reihana and Ngawaka were amongst the first to come forward to sign the deed, naively remarking as they did so that they had only endeavoured to extort as much land as possible "before holding the pen."

On the following morning the whole of the natives were astir at an early hour, and the parade ground was soon alive with the bustle and excitement inseparable from a great event in Maori life. On this day the purchase money was to be paid over, and for the purposes of the ceremony a tent had been erected in the centre of the enclosure. In

front of this temporary structure the tribes were marshalled in the order in which they were to be paid. Again the deed of sale was read over to them, and again the consent was unanimous, those who could not sign having their names written in for them.

The Ngatiapa were then addressed by Aperahama Tipae, who reminded them of the serious step they had just taken, of their bounden duty to loyally abide by it, and of the necessity of their looking to the Governors of the Colony as their guardians. He then in turn addressed the Wangaehu, Turakina, and Rangitikei *hapus*, enquiring of each whether they fully realised the nature of the agreement they had entered into, and whether they were as fully decided to abide by it. To these enquiries there came a running fire of "*ai*" down the lines, and Abraham concluded his homily by warning all that if anyone departed from that promise he would be the first to bring the offender to justice.

Paora Turangapito, the principal chief at Turakina, and the foremost Ngatiapa warrior, next spoke to the people, assuring them in laboured tones that the alienation of the lands of their forefathers was an important episode in which he was proud to take a part before he died—an event which did not appear far off, as the hand of death was already upon

him. The old chief then set up a lament for the land which he could no longer call his own, and in the refrain the people joined most heartily.

But their *tangi* soon terminated when the bags of bank notes were produced, and the first instalment of £1000 was placed upon the table. Each of the eighty-six *hapus* received a bag containing £10, the remaining fourteen bags being distributed between the following chiefs:—Kingi Hori and Hunia of Rangitikei, £60; Paora Turangapita, of Turakina, £40; Aparahama Tipae, of Wangaehu, £40; making in all one hundred bags of £10 each.

According to Mr. McLean the Ngatiapa were at this time still "a rude and uncultivated race,* whose improvement as a tribe has hitherto been much neglected." He therefore anticipated that breaches of faith on their part might at any time be expected towards the settlers who were to take up the recently-purchased lands, but he concludes his report with a tribute to the integrity of the Ngatiraukawa, who having waived their claim to the block, neither repented of their generosity or equivocated as to the terms

* In a report to the Government, dated March 10th, 1850, Mr. Tacy Kemp, Native Secretary, says: "The Ngatiapa are a remnant of the original people, and have held but little intercourse with Europeans. They are still rude and uncivilised, and look with a jealous eye on their old conquerors, the Ngatiraukawa, by whom they were recently permitted to sell land on the north side of the river. The whole of the Ngatiapa scarcely amount to more than 300 souls."

upon which they had allowed the Ngatiapa to sell the land as their own.

Ten years later a similarly generous act was performed towards the Rangitane people by the Ngatiraukawa, when they conceded to them what is known as the Ahuaturangi Block in the Upper Manawatu. An attempt had previously been made by Te Hirawanu, a chief of the Rangitane, to sell this block to Governor Browne, but his efforts in this direction were frustrated by the Ngatiraukawa, whose claims to ownership were shown to be superior. But in the language of Rawiri te Whanui, "Afterwards Ngatiraukawa, out of love for Hirawanu, returned the land formerly his to him." The story of that concession is thus told by Commissioner Searancke in his official report dated at Manawatu River, 27th September, 1858:—

On the 19th ultimo I arrived here, and after a few days' delay, proceeded in company with Nepia Taratoa, Ihakara, and about forty others of the chiefs and principal men of the Ngatiraukawa tribe up the Manawatu River to Raukawa,* the settlement of Te Hirawanu, the chief of the Rangitane and Ngatimotuahi tribes. A numerous meeting of natives from the Ngatiraukawa, Ngatitehihi, Ngatimakatere, Te Upokoiri,† Ngatiapa, Rangitane, and Ngatimotuahi took place, when the whole of the upper part of the Manawatu was formally returned to Te Hirawanu by the three first-named tribes, they fully consenting to his

* Near Ashhurst.

† These were all hapus of the Ngatiraukawa tribe.

selling the whole of it to the Government, Nepia Taratoa more particularly wishing him to complete the sale of the land at once.*

When we bear in mind that conquest had given the Ngatiraukawa a title to the country which no Maori would question except by conquest, and no European could challenge without flying in the face of the Treaty of Waitangi, it would have been thought that these large concessions made to the original owners would in equity have secured to the givers an undisputed claim to that portion which they wished to retain as their own for ever; but the Ngatiapa ideas of equity were laid on no such broad lines, for, having sold the land given back to them, they quietly lay in wait for a further opportunity of beating by "slimness" the people who had vanquished them on the field.†

This opportunity came about 1862, when additional settlers, attracted by the rich grazing qualities of the Manawatu and Rangitikei districts, began to cluster about the open places, seeking the right to graze their sheep and cattle, for which they entered into leases with Nepia Taratoa. The official testimony on this point is found in a memorandum by

* The money for this block was paid over at Raukawa by Dr. Featherston and Mr. Buller.

† Their first act of aggression was to build a hut on the south side of the Rangitikei River, which was immediately pulled down by Te Rangihaeata.

Mr Fox, dated at Rangitikei on the 19th August, 1863, in which he says :—

It is believed that most if not all these leases were made with Nepia Taratoa, though members of other tribes are also parties to them, or at least some of them.

How these "members of other tribes" came to participate in the leases is thus told by Bishop Hadfield, whose knowledge of native history on this coast is not surpassed by that of any other European :—

When Ngatiraukawa accepted the Christian religion, they, unlike the American slave-holders of the Southern States, deemed it inconsistent with their profession of religion to retain their fellow-men in slavery. They let their slaves go free. Several of these men continued to reside amongst their former masters. There were some intermarriages ; they were thenceforth treated as equals, but without any thought of their being again reinstated in their former possessions. There were one or two attempts made about the year 1855 to regain a footing, but these were instantly stopped. Subsequently it was agreed to erect a mill at Makohai, on the Rangitikei River, for the joint use of Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa. In consequence of this there was a combined effort to raise funds for the purpose agreed upon. This gave rise to the first leases to the squatters in which both parties joined, but this was only a temporary arrangement, agreed upon for a specific purpose, with the view of arriving at an object concerning which there was no difference of opinion. Some time afterwards, during the Taranaki war, when the whole of the tribes along this coast had their attention more or less pre-occupied with matters of general interest, Nepia Taratoa, being alarmed, wished to have his old slaves

again around him, they being for the most part Kingites. He invited some of them to come to his neighbourhood. In order to secure their services he offered to let some of his lands, and pay them with the money derived from the rents; what was done was to promise them some temporary participation in the rents from the leased lands. This act of his, which was done without the sanction of the tribe, could not possibly be construed into a formal transfer of the land.

Further testimony as to the relative positions of the two tribes regarding the actual ownership of the land is given by Nepia Taratoa's son, who has left his views on record in the following statement :—

When Ahuaturanga was sold my father and his people fixed the boundaries of the land—the Upper Manawatu on to Ahuaturanga, for Rangitane; that down towards the mouth of the River Manawatu on to Rangitikei to remain for Ngatiraukawa. Some years afterwards my father and his people granted some illegal and irregular leases over this country; the first year my father and his people took all the money; the third year my father gave some money to Ngatiapa; the fourth year Ngatiapa and Rangitane asked my father and Ngatikauwhata to allow them to join in these leases. My father gave his consent and they joined. My father intended that they should have a portion of the money alone, not of the land. The land was to be for my father and his tribe alone. My father was simply treating, as he always had treated, with kindness these people, Ngatiapa, and their friends.

According to Atareta, Nepia's daughter, the *mana* over the land was with her father, but with respect to the leases she says :—

The Ngatiapa and Rangitane had been allowed to join in them, but in the money alone, not in the land. I am fully aware and am quite positive that it was my father's fixed determination that the land should be retained for his people alone, for the Ngatiraukawa.

If so explicit a statement from so excellent an authority as Bishop Hadfield is to receive the credence which it surely deserves, we are here confronted with an act of Christian grace on the part of an untutored savage which not even men who were born and bred in a Bible land were able to emulate, until they had waded to emancipation through the nation's blood. But Nepia's charity and goodness of heart were not exhausted by this act of clemency towards his former slaves, for when in 1863 old age had crept upon him, and the death sweat lay heavy on his brow, he summoned Ngatiapa to his bed side, and presenting them with his own share of the rents, earnestly counselled them to live in friendship with his people, who in years gone by had protected them from the anger of Te Rauparaha.

The avaricious manner in which the Ngatiapa snapped at this last gift of the dying chief boded badly for their observance of his dying wish, and it was not long before they gave evidence of that want of faith of which Mr. McLean had suspected them. So long

as Nepia Taratoa* lived they received his benevolence with all humanity and meekness, but scarcely had his spirit passed away when "they became covetous and wanted all the rents to themselves." As time went on, they grew bolder, and presently became openly contentious for the ownership of the land itself, doubtless feeling that Taratoa's generosity had given them the semblance of a legal claim.

But this was not the whole secret of their arrogance, for they further felt that they had sufficiently regained their tribal power to assert upon the field of battle their right to the home of their fathers. The manner in which they had renewed their strength and confidence was decidedly characteristic of the Maori, and shows how tenaciously they clung to their love of revenge, and how keenly they sought their opportunity to obtain it. Many of the friendly Ngatiapa had been engaged by

* In the early stages of the dispute the services of Mr. Buller appear to have been sought as a mediator, and in his book of New Zealand Birds, Vol. I., he relates an amusing experience which befel him during the course of his negotiations. In describing the mocking powers of the Tui he mentions that the Maoris thought highly of them, and often devoted great pains to their cultivation, with the result that great proficiency was sometimes attained. In proof of this he tells how, when addressing the natives of a *pa* on the Lower Rangitikei, he had urged his views with all the earnestness the subject demanded, and at the conclusion of his speech, and before the old chief to whom his arguments were addressed had time to reply, a Tui, whose netted cage hung to a rafter overhead, responded in a clear emphatic way, "*Tūo*" (false).

The circumstance naturally caused much merriment amongst the audience, and quite upset the gravity of the venerable old chief Nepia Taratoa. "Friend," said he, laughing, "your arguments are very good, but my *Mohai* is a very wise bird, and he is not yet convinced."

the Government in the West Coast war with General Chute, against the Hau Haus, but instead of turning their arms upon these fanatics, they industriously collected as many guns as came in their way, and carefully reserved their cartridges, so that when the campaign was over Kawana Hunia was able to boast, at a meeting held at Turakina, that they had plenty of arms and ammunition, and could easily drive their opponents off the field, that in fact they would prefer an appeal to arms to any other mode of settling the dispute.

The Ngatiraukawa indignantly denied these pretensions to ownership of the land, and immediately made preparations to demonstrate by the good old rule that they were its sole proprietors. Strongly fortified *pas* were built at Tauhirihoe, Hokianga, and Makohai, and the Ngatiraukawa, having been reinforced by a small section of the Rangitane, who became their allies, the two tribes lay within striking distance, waiting for some trifling incident to put the brand to the bush, when the Europeans interfered.

First Mr. Buller and then Mr. Fox sought to avert hostilities, but in vain, and there seemed no alternative but war when Dr. Featherston arrived upon the scene. No sooner had the news of the impending

struggle reached Wellington than the Superintendent set off in hot haste for the seat of disturbance, and arrived just in the nick of time to prevent the first shot being fired. Probably no man in New Zealand ever had such influence with the Maori as Dr. Featherston, and no man ever used his power with greater judgment. On this occasion he wielded his magnetic influence with the chiefs to such purpose that Ihakara, whose blood was up, and who was bent upon wiping out the insolent pretensions of the Ngatiapa on the field, yielded to the persuasions of the Superintendent to settle the dispute by a less violent means than force of arms. His first proposal was that the rents, which were the immediate cause of the rupture, should be impounded pending an adjustment of the differences regarding the ownership of the land—a course to which the belligerent tribes at length agreed, and for the moment the calamity of an inter-tribal war was averted.

The suspension of hostilities in no way diminished the aggressiveness of the Ngatiapa, for they once more forced the hand of their opponents by offering the land for sale to the Superintendent. Although somewhat unexpected, this was precisely the policy which met the views of Dr. Featherston, for he realised how important such a district must

be to the future development of the province over which he presided. But at the same time he was placed in a quandary by the rival claims of the two tribes, and he saw that unless the matter was handled very diplomatically, he might easily bring down upon his head that wrath of both parties which frequently falls upon the peace-maker. His first step was to suggest an adjustment of the tribal differences by the process of arbitration, but the Ngatiapa would not admit the possibility of their being in the wrong, or submit to an adverse decision. Under these circumstances the Superintendent realised that an amicable settlement was somewhat remote, but he was fully convinced that so long as the land remained in the possession of the tribes it would be a source of contention between them. The position was as one old warrior put it, "the fighting had been prevented, but the evil was not removed," and so Dr. Featherston set assiduously to work to induce the claimants to dispose of their interests to the Government.

In these efforts he was energetically seconded by Mr. Buller, who acted as negotiator and interpreter at many important meetings. For several months it seemed impossible to reconcile the Ngatiraukawa to the

sale of the land, which they justly regarded as twice theirs, first by right of conquest, and secondly by right of agreement. As time went on, however, it began to dawn upon some of their chiefs that this was the only solution to the difficulty. Long and animated discussions took place in their *runangas*, the debates lasting many days and well into the nights. At last, towards the October of 1864, the sale party had assumed such an ascendancy that they were able to despatch a letter to Dr. Featherston offering the land for sale, and inviting him to meet them at the Wharangi Hotel, at the mouth of the Manawatu River. There, headed by Ihakara, eight of the Ngati-raukawa chiefs, and Hoani Meihana, of the Rangitane tribe, met Dr. Featherston, and after due deliberation the land was formally offered to and formally accepted by him as Queen's Commissioner. As a pledge of their sincerity, Ihakara handed to Dr. Featherston a famous *mere*, known in tribal history as "Rangitikei," telling him that so long as he retained possession of the club the land would remain in his hands.

Such an offer, however, could only be provisional, requiring for its ratification the consent of the tribe, and to obtain this it was necessary to hold many meetings at the various *pas*. Some picturesque and historical gather-

ings were the result, during which those who, like Ihakara, regarded the sale as "the price of peace," and those who insisted on keeping the land as "a home for the people," again hurled their arguments at each other with unstinted vehemence, arguments in which the women* were not the least angry disputants.

But the negotiations were brought to a sudden termination, and their success was even imperilled, by an unfortunate misunderstanding. As a part of their native policy, the General Government had passed the Native Lands Act of 1865, under which the whole of the native lands in the Colony, except the districts between the Ohau and Rangitikei Rivers, were thrown open for direct traffic with the Europeans. The fact that this extensive district was "fenced in," as the natives termed it, was a subject of especial grievance with the Ngatiraukawa chiefs, who thought they saw in it a subtle trick on the side of the Government to force them to part with their lands in some way, or on some terms contrary to their good pleasure. These fears were adroitly stimulated by some Europeans in Wellington, who from motives personal or political were opposed to the

* At one of the meetings the wives of Takanu and Te Kooro, having differed as to some boundary, indulged in a fierce dispute with each other, and refused to be restrained. It ended in their rushing forward into the open area, and calling upon Dr. Featherston to take the disputed land. This elicited a roar of laughter, and the meeting immediately broke up.

policy of Dr. Featherston. They first excited the suspicion of the natives by sending to Ihakara a letter under the anonymity of "Kaionge," in which it was insinuated, if not broadly stated, that the House of Representatives had refused to listen to their petition because of the hostility of Dr. Featherston and the unfavourable reports of Mr. Buller. This was immediately followed by a caricature, in which the three tribes were depicted as pigs being driven to market by the Superintendent and his agent, Mr. Buller.

The result of this was to fire the native mind into a state of righteous indignation, and to neutralise anything that may have been accomplished in the way of settlement, by undermining the implicit confidence which the chiefs and people had hitherto reposed in Dr Featherston.

When Ihakara next* met the Superintendent at Scott's accommodation house, at the mouth of the Rangitikei River, he frankly told him that when he first discussed the sale with him he fully expected to be allowed to sell as a chief and not as a slave. But now his heart was saddened and perplexed as he found that Dr. Featherston and Mr. Buller, whom he had regarded as his best friends, were dealing treacherously with him. He was

* On 22nd November, 1865.

selling his land "blindfold," and they were trying to *hamapaka** him, and he would resent to the last any attempt to coerce him into making terms, or to force him into selling his land against his wish.

Dr. Featherston was at no small pains to explain to the angry chief that the caricature and letter of "Kaionge" were simply the emanations of political spite, and that so far as the exclusion of the Manawatu Block from the general operations of the Act was concerned, such exclusion was necessary in all cases where the ownership was in dispute, or where the Government was in negotiation for its purchase, in order that the title might be ascertained before a properly-appointed court.

This explanation to some extent lifted the "gloom" from the chief's heart, and on receiving a promise that the "fence" would be removed from his own land at Ohau, he went away feeling more satisfied that he was not exactly "a pig who had been helping to build his own sty."*

The irritating effect of the offensive caricature was even more forcibly exhibited in the chief Wi Pukapuka, who met the Superintendent at Maramaihoe, in the Rangitikei district, on December 4th, 1865, and in the

* Humbug.

presence of about sixty natives thus delivered his savage soul:—

He said that when the Native Lands Act was originally explained to him, he was satisfied with the exclusion of the Manawatu Block, and believed it would tend to a peaceful solution of the present question. But his eyes had since been open. He had discovered that he was a "pig"—that he was the laughing stock of the *pakehas*—that a fence had been erected round his land, and that the Superintendent and Mr. Buller were driving him into a trap. His tribe (the Ngatiraukawa) had always been considered a respectable tribe—a tribe of chiefs. They had never been stigmatised as "pigs" before. He would stand it no longer. He would snap the rope that had been tied to his leg by the Superintendent with his own consent, and he would break down the fence that enclosed him. He had certainly consented to the sale of the Rangitikei Block, but he had done so in ignorance. He was not then aware of the disgrace he was bringing on his tribe. All the tribes would point their finger at them and say, "Look at those Ngatiraukawa pigs." If he allowed himself to be drawn into the sale this saying would be confirmed. He was still willing to sell the block because he saw no other way of finally settling the difficulty; but he opposed the attempt now being made to drive them to terms. He referred to the impounded rents. They had been kept out of their rent money for nearly two years. The runholders were willing to pay, but the Superintendent had warned them against doing so, and had threatened to eject them. The natives had patiently waited, but now they wanted money. They had agreed about the division of the rent money, and were, therefore, in no way apprehensive of a quarrel. In proof of this he might mention the fact that a sum of £500 had been paid to them for the right of cutting timber on the

disputed block, and that this large amount had been amicably distributed. He was aware that Ihakara had met the Superintendent at Scott's, and had entered into some compromise with him. He wished to intimate at once that he was no longer on the same friendly terms with Ihakara as formerly, and that he would not allow himself to be influenced by anything Ihakara might say or do. He blamed Ihakara for originally consenting to the impounding of rents without first obtaining the general consent of the tribes. It was now evident that Ihakara was acting throughout from selfish motives, for he had sought a private meeting with the Superintendent at Scott's, and had prevailed upon His Honor to promise that the privileges of the Native Lands Act should extend over his own lands south of the Manawatu River, leaving the Rangitikei Block "locked up in the prison house." He had, in short, betrayed the tribe, and they would trust him no longer. The Superintendent had all along objected to the payment of any rents—ostensibly for fear of a renewal of hostilities—but really in order to force them to terms. This was clearly an attempt to drive them—this was indeed making "pigs" of them. He would endure this state of things no longer. He had sounded the tribe and found them all of one mind—all determined to assert their rights at whatever risk. He had waited for an opportunity of publicly warning the Superintendent not to provoke the tribe to extreme measures. The opportunity had now come. In the presence therefore of the assembled tribes, and in the hearing of his brother chiefs, he called upon His Honor to "deliver the rents from prison." The runholders would not pay without his consent. If, therefore, His Honor refused to him that consent, they would take the law into their own hands and convince the tribes that they were something better than "pigs." They would at once drive off the sheep and cattle. They would seize some in payment of back rent, and

would drive off the rest. This was no idle threat. The tribes had all agreed to this, and were prepared for the consequences. They must have a final answer from His Honor at once. Unless the rents were immediately promised, at daylight on the morrow they would execute their threats.

Wi Pukapuka concluded his spirited address by calling on the leaders of the tribe present to express their minds upon the subject under debate, whereupon several chiefs rose and pronounced themselves in emphatic terms against the sale of the block, and as emphatically demanded the release of the impounded rents.

Dr. Featherston, in his calm and dignified reply, dealt exhaustively with the whole facts of the case.

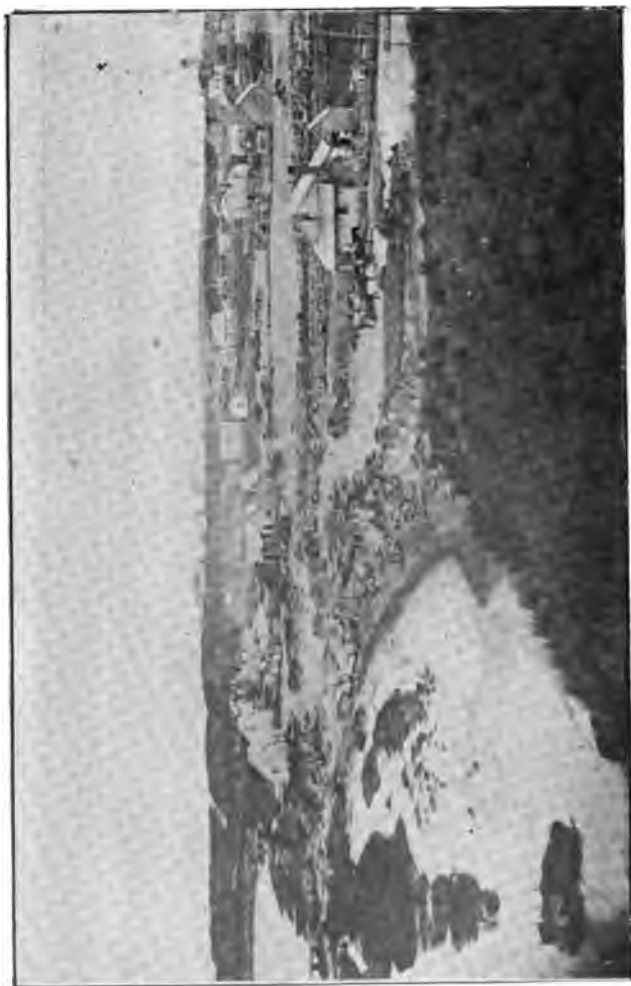
He referred to the early history of the Rangitikei dispute. He sketched the course of events from the time when at the request of the Government he came up to prevent, if possible, an armed collision between the parties. He reminded them of what had taken place at the several meetings between himself and the chiefs, and of the final agreement they had come to at the Wharangi meeting in October, 1864. He requested them to distinctly bear in mind that the proposal for the sale of the land came in the first instance from the natives, and not from the Commissioner; that on separate occasions the land was offered to him by the several tribes claiming it, as their only means of settling the quarrel; and that he ultimately, in the name of the Queen, accepted that offer subject to future terms to be mutually agreed upon. He came up originally not to treat for the land,

but to propose an arbitration of title and to prevent the effusion of blood between the contending tribes. At the Tauhirihoe meeting, and again at the Ngatiapa meeting, he pressed this plan of a committee upon the *runanga*, but without success. He made no attempt to induce the natives to surrender their disputed claims to the Crown; he said not one word to them about the sale of the land. He simply endeavoured to settle an angry dispute which threatened to embroil the district in an inter-tribal war, and he suggested to them a plan, the object of which was not to alienate but to secure to each tribe its fair share of the land. His plan was rejected by the Ngatiapa, who of their own accord offered the land for absolute sale to the Crown. As this offer virtually amounted to a pledge that the tribe would not assert their own right by force of arms, or continue any longer to threaten the peace of the district, he felt bound to accept it; but in doing so he was careful to explain to them that he did not accept the land, but such right or interest as they might hereafter be proved to have in the land. By doing this he disarmed the Ngatiapa, and put an end to the threatened collision. He did not, however, take advantage of this arrangement to force either party to terms. He simply explained to the Ngatiraukawa and Rangitane, at Ihakara's *pa*, what he had done, warned them against disturbing the peace of the district, and proposed withholding all rents till some amicable arrangement had been mutually come to. This proposal was readily agreed to, and from that time to the present all parties had faithfully adhered to the compact. To this he attributed, in a great measure, the peace on this coast. Wi Pukapuka, Aperahama, Tapa, and others had now asked him to withdraw the restriction, and to allow the rents to be paid. They had expressed their conviction that it would not be attended with evil consequences, as the three tribes would now agree to an equal division of the money; and in support



IHAKARA TUKUMARU AND MR. BULLER.

*Ihakara is Signing the Deed of Cession of
the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block.*



FOXTON, 1869.

of this opinion they had instanced the case of a settler who had recently paid £500 for the right of cutting timber on the disputed block, which sum had been amicably distributed amongst the contending claimants. With regard to this case, he would simply say that any settler who dared to violate the existing arrangement would be held liable for the consequences of such an act. As to the danger or otherwise of allowing rents to be paid, that was quite a matter for speculation. The meeting had expressed a very decided opinion that no harm would result from it; there were others who confidently believed that the removal of the restrictions would lead directly to a renewal of the contest. They might be right in their view, but he would remind them that formerly, when the dispute was dormant, the rents were paid, and the tribes divided them without coming to any open issue. The disaffection, however, gradually deepened, and the old chief, Nepia, who was shrewd and far-seeing, was so confident of an approaching rupture between the two tribes, that shortly before his death he sent for the Ngatiapa, and, with a speech worthy a good and generous chief, handed over to their leading men his own share of the rents, exhorting them at the same time to cultivate friendly relations with the Ngatiraukawa after his death; and those at the meeting, who were present on that occasion—who saw the dying chief perform this graceful and honourable act, and who also saw the Ngatiapa grasp at and carry away the money—must have felt that the death of Nepia would solve a tie that had long kept the tribes in check, and that ere many months after his departure the smouldering feelings of discontent and jealousy would break into an open flame. So it had proved, and although the tribes were now at peace with each other, and were possibly prepared to receive and divide the rents on amicable terms, it was more than likely that ere long the like cause would lead to like results, for the question of title was as

far from settlement as ever. His Honor felt that the responsibility of deciding the point raised by this meeting rested not with the one tribe or with the other, but with himself; that should he heedlessly allow the rents to be paid, and the contest to re-open, the Government and the country—the Maori and the *pakeha* alike—would blame him for the consequences. For these reasons he could not lightly dispose of the question, or readily give his consent to the request so strongly urged by the meeting. He would, however, ascertain the feelings of the other parties interested. He would proceed first to Oroua and Awahuri and hold a meeting with the Ngatikauwhata; he would then go on to Puketotara, and see the Rangitane; thence to Manawatu, where Ihakara was now staying; and proceeding down the coast he would meet the other sections of the Ngatiraukawa at Otaki. After a short stay in Wellington he would return to Rangitikei and hold meetings with the Ngatiapa at their various settlements. If he found all parties unanimous—if with one voice they demanded the rents, promising to divide them equitably and without contention—he would probably yield to their request. He would not actually promise to do so, because he felt he could not free himself from responsibility in the matter, but a unanimous request from the three tribes would go far to influence his decision. He extremely regretted to hear men of position like Wi Pukapuka and Aperahama resorting to threats in the hope of intimidating him. He believed that all the natives knew his character too well to suppose that he would allow himself to be in any degree coerced or influenced by any threats they could use. He considered it sufficient to warn these natives that the Government would hold them responsible for the consequences of any rash and unjustifiable acts. And while upon this subject he would express his regret that Wi Pukapuka had so far forgotten himself as to speak

disparagingly of his brother chief Ihakara. It was known to all in the meeting that no one had taken a more active part in this matter, or had worked more earnestly in the interest of the tribe, than Ihakara; Wi Pukapuka had admitted a personal quarrel between them, and he feared he had allowed his feelings to blind his judgment. He felt convinced that Wi Pukapuka would himself regret the expressions he had used, and he now called upon him publicly to come forward and withdraw them.

Wi Pukapuka replied to the effect that the explanation given by the Superintendent regarding Ihakara's supposed treachery to the tribe was satisfactory, and he had evidently spoken under a misconception of the facts. He stated that he highly concurred in His Honor's proposal with respect to the rents, as he believed that all the tribes were unanimous in the matter. In that case he would still insist upon having the rent. If it should prove otherwise, he would be willing to wait. He hoped His Honor would not be angry for the threats they had used, but every allowance ought to be made for them, for they were no longer chiefs but "pigs," and pigs were not supposed to have much wisdom.

This sarcastic reference to the cartoon brought from Dr. Featherston a spirited rejoinder, during the course of which he pointed out the absurdity of supposing they were pigs just because some unknown person had chosen to call them so. The logic of this

argument, and a humorous reference to his being as much a pig as any of them, as he had been a party to the whole transaction, softened the feelings of the angry chief, who concluded the meeting by thanking the Superintendent for the patience with which he had listened to their complaints.

That same evening Dr. Featherston met the Ngatikauwhata people at their Awahuri *pa*, where he was welcomed by Tapa te Whata, the head chief. The speech of the evening, however, was delivered by Te Koora, who placed his position briefly and pointedly before the Superintendent.

He stated that he was opposed to the sale of the land, and he was equally opposed to His Honor's interference with the rents. He was aware that the leases were illegal, but as the Government had permitted them to traffic in this way for years, and to receive the rents, he considered that the privilege had been conceded to them, and he did not recognise the right of the Superintendent, or anyone else, to step in and impound their rents on any pretext whatever. He had heard some of the natives using threats. He believed there were those who were fully determined on killing or driving off the stock unless the rents were immediately paid. He entirely disapproved of these threats, and he would be no party to any illegal interference with the stock. He would resent, however, the impounding of the rents by doing the utmost in his power to prevent the sale of the land to the Government; whereas, if the rents were allowed to be paid, he would be willing to entertain the question of sale and freely discuss it with his people.

The lead thus given by Te Koora was readily followed by several other speakers, all of whom, however, agreed to attend the meeting at Puketotara before coming to their final decision. The journey down the Oroua River was made in a fleet of canoes, and on the arrival of the party near the present site of the Oroua Bridge, messengers were sent hither and thither to collect the people for the great meeting which was to open in the *runanga* house on the morrow. This section of the Rangitane tribe had at the outset of the quarrel with the Ngatiapa allied themselves with the Ngatiraukawa, and on this account might be considered to have some voice in the matter. Amongst them Peeti Te Awe Awe was as much opposed to the sale of the land as Wi Pukapuka was amongst the Ngatiraukawa. At this meeting he warmly disputed the right of any nine men to part with his heritage, for said he, "If we sell this land, where will the tribe look for support?" At the same time he significantly remarked that if the sale did take place, he would take every care to get his full share of the purchase money.

Hoani Meihana, the principal chief of the tribe, endeavoured to pour balm upon the lacerated feelings of the Rangitane people in a judicious speech, during the course of

which he made a fervent appeal to them to sell what he described as "a land of fighting and trouble," and so bring peace back to the *pas*. At the same time he strongly urged the Superintendent not to pay over the rents, as such a course would assuredly make this district once more the scene of division and conflict.

In view of such definite advice from such an influential source, Dr. Featherston felt justified in saying at once that he could not relinquish his hold upon the rents; and possibly, in consequence of this attitude on his part, together with the conciliatory speeches of many of the chiefs, supplemented by constant explanations on the part of Mr. Buller, the prejudice against the sale gradually began to die out, particularly since, as time went on, the hopelessness of a settlement by any other means became more and more apparent. Still, the process of submitting the question to all the people interested was a slow and tedious one, for there was as great a diversity of opinion as to price amongst those who were agreeable to sell as there was difference between these natives and those who would not sell at any price. Towards February, 1866, however, there began to grow up a feeling that there had been enough talk, and that it was time to be doing something

more practical. A meeting of the principal chiefs was accordingly called at Ihakara's *pa*, at Tauhirihoe, "to talk concerning Rangitikei, and bring our work to a speedy close." On second thoughts, however, it was deemed better to do this directly through the people, and therefore the meeting was adjourned until March to enable sufficient food to be collected wherewith to entertain the assembled tribes. To this meeting, which was called at the Te Awahou settlement, and subsequently altered to Te Takapu, on the southern bank of the Manawatu River, the Ngatiapa tribe was invited, but refused to attend, in consequence of which the gathering was further adjourned until April.

In the hope that he might be able to promote a more reasonable spirit amongst the Ngatiapa, Dr. Featherston immediately proceeded to Turakina, where he met a number of their chiefs at the Ben Nevis Hotel. It was here that "Governor" Hunia made his famous boast that the Ngatiapa had reserved their ammunition against a rainy day with their neighbours, and Aperahama Tipae spoke in equally bitter terms of the Ngatiraukawa and their chiefs, with whom, he said, he would never consent to unite in the sale of the land, and therefore no good could come of his attending the meeting at Manawatu.

He was prepared to sell only as a Ngatiapa, and unless Dr. Featherston was prepared to treat with him on these terms, the negotiations must cease.

Towards these recalcitrant gentlemen Dr. Featherston assumed a bold and courageous attitude, telling them that he was not to be intimidated by their Maori bounce, and dared them to take the law into their own hands. He acknowledged with all gratefulness the services which they had rendered in the recent campaign, but expressed the hope that the result of the war had been to convince not only them, but all the tribes, that the Government was both determined and able to maintain order.

After this oral chastisement, delivered in the Superintendent's best style, the chiefs became more reasonable in their tone and demeanour, and business proceeded so far that terms were discussed, the price first asked for the Block being £90,000, but ultimately a limit was fixed at £40,000, below which they would not go. Even this was agreed to only on the condition that no other tribe participated in the sale, because, as a matter of fact, they intimated that they really preferred to fight for the land, the agreement to sell being only a matter of personal favour to Dr. Featherston. Although the interview

lasted over seven hours, the chiefs were just as determined at the end of it not to meet the Ngatiraukawa in friendly discussion as they were at the beginning, and the Superintendent was compelled to return to the Manawatu, feeling that he had not accomplished very much for the time it had taken—how much may be judged from the petition which the chiefs immediately despatched to Mr. Stafford, who was then Premier of the Colony.

Friend, salutations! Friend, this is a question to you from us and our tribe, Ngatiapa. We are vainly endeavouring to understand the object of Dr. Featherston's proceedings relative to our land at Rangitikei. We are very sad, because we do not understand what he is about. He goes about enquiring the sentiments of a stranger tribe, who have no claim whatever to our land. We gave him the land when he came to prevent hostilities between the Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa, we placed the gun of peace in his hand, and told him and the Governor to buy the land from us, and that we would arrange with the other tribes. He replied, "It is well;" we then told him our decision. If you listen to the voice of Ngatiraukawa, viz., Te Ihakara, after this concession to you, trouble will spring up. This warning was not concealed from him at the commencement of the talk about the land. He has now sent a letter agreeing to give Ihakara £100 on account of Rangitikei, the land in dispute. We truly agreed to leave the rents in Dr. Featherston's hands to take care of. He said he would take care of them and not give them to strangers. His word has proved incorrect. Our eyes did not see this money payment, therefore we think that in a short time Dr. Featherston's deceit towards us will be ..

manifest. Now, O the Assembly at Port Nicholson! We will not listen to anything he has to say. When Dr. Featherston's actions take a different turn what are we to do? We will condemn his strange proceedings. We therefore make known to the European Assembly that we are either being deceived by Dr. Featherston or his interpreter. Friends, our hard thoughts about our land are not a trivial nature. They are very great. Featherston has said that he will take care of them. For this reason we consider that the present proceedings are intended to deceive us, and will be productive of much trouble amongst us natives. If we go wrong it will be well: we shall go wrong in our land. If a man acts without authority on European land trouble arises. Friend Stafford, and your colleagues, you know, because you have distinctly seen that the land of the Ngati-raukawa is at Maungatautari. They have sent in their claims. Let the Europeans clearly understand that Maungatautari is their land. Should you and your colleagues disapprove of our letter, write some clear suggestions to us, and let one of your colleagues come to Whanganui, in order that we and Dr. Featherston may talk together and search for his fault. Enough. Salutations to you all.

As the day appointed for the big meeting at Te Takapu drew near, natives from all the interested tribes began to assemble, and by the second day of the month the surrounding *pas* were nearly empty. Aperahama Te Huruhuru, who had repented of his first intention to sell the land, and who now led the opposition to the sale, was anxious to begin the debate at once, but Ihakara stoutly refused to permit a word to be spoken until

Dr. Featherston should arrive on the 5th. Aperahama therefore improved the shining hour by promoting his views privately amongst the people. By the evening of the 4th all the natives had arrived and active preparations were made for the formal opening of the proceedings on the following day. What these proceedings were may be conjectured from the description given by Dr. Featherston himself.

On the morning of the 5th April there were seven hundred natives present, belonging chiefly to the Ngatiraukawa, Rangitane, Ngatitoa, and Muaupoko tribes. There were members of the Ngatiawa tribe in attendance, but the Ngatiapa and Whanganui tribes were totally unrepresented. The Ngatiraukawa who were present comprised the following *hapus* or sub-divisions, viz., Ngatikauwhata, Ngatiwehiwehi, Ngatipare, Te Matewa, Ngatiparewahawaha, Ngatipikiahū, Ngatiwhakaterē, Ngatihua, Ngatingarongo, and Ngatirakawau.

The natives had congregated when Dr. Featherston arrived, and were seated on the ground grouped according to their tribes, in front of the great *runanga* house. On his arrival on the ground His Honor was greeted with much enthusiasm.

After complimentary speeches, and the giving away of about forty tons of food, which Ihakara had collected for the occasion, the proceedings were formally commenced by that chief with a short complimentary speech suited to the occasion.

The next speaker was Aperahama Te Huruhuru, of the Ngatiraukawa tribe. He addressed himself immediately to the subject for the discussion of which the tribes had assembled. He stated that he was one of the nine

representative chiefs who had voluntarily offered the Rangitikei Block for sale, and who had afterwards signed a declaration of consent to sell. He had since, however, felt aggrieved by the persistent refusal of the Superintendent to allow the impounded rents to be paid, and he was now prepared to ignore the transaction in which he had taken a part, and to recede from his agreement to sell the land. He called upon the tribes to support him, and challenged the sellers to prove that they had the sympathy of the majority of the people.

Nepia Maukiringutu (a son of the late Nepia Taratoa) then spoke in support of Aperahama, and declared that he could never consent to a sale of the Rangitikei Block, admitting at the same time that he had been one of the most urgent at the meeting at Rangitikei, in 1864, to compel the Superintendent to accept the sale of the block, and to take the quarrel into his own hands.

Ihakara replied in a carefully prepared, well delivered, and very effective speech. He vindicated himself from the charge of inconsistency in having first built *pas* and attempted to assert his claims by force, and having afterwards offered to sell the land peaceably to the Crown. He expressed his regret that the Ngatiapa had failed to attend the meeting, and repeated his oft-expressed conviction that nothing but a sale of the disputed land could bring about a peaceful settlement of the question. The following is an abstract of his speech :— Ihakara commenced by reminding his tribe of the meeting which took place at Manawatu many years ago, when the sale of the Lower Manawatu Block was under discussion. He was opposed at that time by the late Nepia Taratoa, and many of the principal chiefs, but the land was ultimately sold. During the meeting to which he had referred he proposed to sell the whole of the land between the purchased block and the Rangitikei River. This, however, was negatived by the people,

and the boundary was eventually fixed at Omarupapaka. Had the land been sold at that time there would have been no more trouble. The land, however, had been leased to *pakehas*, and rents had been paid, sometimes to one tribe, and sometimes to another. While Nepia Taratoa lived there was no trouble, but after Nepia's death trouble arose between the tribes. *Pas* were built by the Ngatiapa on the one side, and by the Ngati-raukawa on the other. He had himself built three *pas*, Tauhirihoe, Hokianga, and Mokowhai. The Rangitane became his allies. The fighting was very near when the *pakehas* interfered. He had resolved to keep possession of his land or else to shed his blood upon it. Mr. Buller and Mr. Fox came to him and endeavoured to prevent bloodshed, but he would not listen. Afterwards Dr. Featherston came to him. He was deaf for a time, but he at length yielded, and fighting was thus prevented. After this the Ngatiapa offered the land for sale. He refused to listen to their proposal, but offered to submit his case to arbitration. The Ngatiapa would not consent to this. Thus matters stood for a long time. The fighting was prevented, but the evil was not removed. At length it appeared to him that nothing but a sale of the land to the Queen would bring the trouble to an end. He consulted his brother chiefs, and they all consented. He then sent a letter to Dr. Featherston, offering the land for sale. Dr. Featherston came up to Manawatu, and there was a meeting at the Wharangi. There were eight chiefs present besides himself. All were agreed that the land should be sold to the Queen. That offer was formally made, and was accepted by the Queen's Commissioner. He gave up to Dr. Featherston his club known as Rangitikei, in token of the surrender of the land, and the club was still in Dr. Featherston's hands. When the chiefs offered the land for sale they said to Dr. Featherston that the final decision would rest with the people; hence the long delay. The chiefs had

been waiting for all the people to consent. The people were now assembled, and if they would at once consent the matter would be soon settled. If they would not consent the matter would be delayed. But so long as Dr. Featherston should retain possession of the club, Rangitikei would remain in his hands. He repeated that he had opposed the proposal to sell when it came from the Ngatiapa. His offer to sell the land to Mr. McLean had not been listened to by the tribe, and he had on that account resolved to retain Rangitikei. He would have continued to have opposed the sale of the land had he been able to discover any other way out of the difficulty. There were only two ways open to him. One was to fight Ngatiapa, and take forcible possession of the soil; the other was to sell the land to the Queen, and to let the Ngatiapa sell also. His own plan was to fight, and to either take the land or die upon it. His plan had been set aside. His *pas* were now falling into decay. He did not want to rebuild them. His young men had laid aside their guns and were planting potatoes. He did not want to call them back to the war dance. He was determined now to take the other course, to sell the land. He wanted the Ngatiapa to unite with him in the sale. They had been invited to the meeting, but they had not come. If the Ngatiapa should not join with the Ngatiraukawa the Queen would have to make them a separate payment. Had the title to the block been clear he would probably have asked a million pounds for it! but as it was fighting ground he would ask Dr. Featherston for a very small price, only £21,000. Horomona had proposed that the price to be paid to the Ngatiraukawa should be £20,000. He would add another thousand to this, and ask for this payment on behalf of all the tribes concerned. This would show that he was selling, not for the sake of the money, but to prevent fighting. If his share should only be sixpence he would be satisfied. It was the price of peace. He thought

more of the blood of his young men than of the Queen's gold and silver. After describing the boundaries of the block, Ihakara concluded by calling on Dr. Featherston to accept his offer and pay the money.

Speeches were then delivered by the following, viz.:—Wiriharai, Tohutohu, Takana, Te Kooro, Reupena Te One, Horapapera Te Tara, Hare Hemi Taharape, Heremaia Te Tihi, Paranihi Te Tau, Henare Hopa, Te Rewiti, Henare Te Herekau, Rawiri Te Wanui, Parakaia Te Pouepa, Te Kepa Kerikeri, and Rota Tawhiri. All these speakers declared themselves more or less opposed to the sale. Heremaia and several others admitted that they were only remote claimants, never having resided on the land nor exercised acts of ownership of any kind. There were many of them averse to the sale, not on any particular ground, but because they were opposed generally to the further alienation of native lands.

Henare Te Herekau urged that a further attempt should be made to get the exemption clause in the Native Lands Act repealed, and to have the question of title in this case investigated and adjudicated on by the Native Land Court. In this proposal he was supported by Parakaia Te Pouepa, from Otaki.

Matene Te Whiwhi made a short speech, in which he adverted to the difficulties of the Rangitikei land question, and urged the people to consider well before taking any step in the matter. He blamed Ihakara for having reserved the question for the tribe, and said that if he had first arranged terms with the Commissioner, and then sought the consent of the people, there would have been no trouble. Instead of that he had made an offer, subject to the approval of the people, and the people were now divided in opinion. The chiefs assembled at Wharangi ought to have sold the land absolutely to the Queen's Commissioner, and the sale would have been valid. The mistake made by

the chiefs there assembled was in making their consent subject to the assent of the people.

Tamihana Te Rauparaha strongly advocated a sale of the whole block, and declared that if not sold it would be a constant source of quarrel and contention between the tribes. He enlarged upon the merits of the block, and concluded by suggesting that they should ascertain its extent, and let the payment for different portions be regulated by the quality. He proposed as a fair price to demand 20s. per acre for the best land, 5s. per acre for the swampy and indifferent ground, and 2s. 6d. per acre for the barren sand hills.

The meeting adjourned about 3 p.m.

6th April.—The discussion was resumed about 11 a.m.

Ihakara renewed his demand for £21,000, and recited again the boundaries of the block under offer.

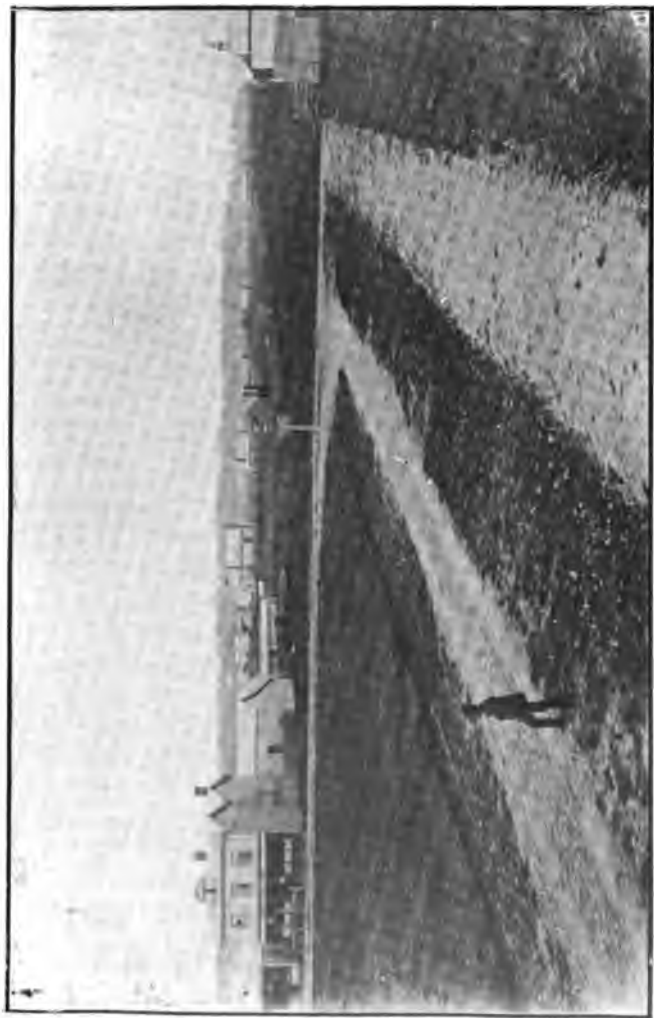
Governor Hunia took objection to the boundaries specified by Ihakara, on the ground that the Ngatikahunu might possibly claim the slopes of the hills, and gave other boundaries which would exclude any claim on the part of Ngatikahunu.

The chiefs Wi Pukapuka, Toa Te Rauhihi, Te Rei Paehua, Hori Te Waharoa, and Tapa Te Whata all spoke strongly in favour of the sale, and, in the early part of the discussion, supported Tamihana's proposal of a price per acre.

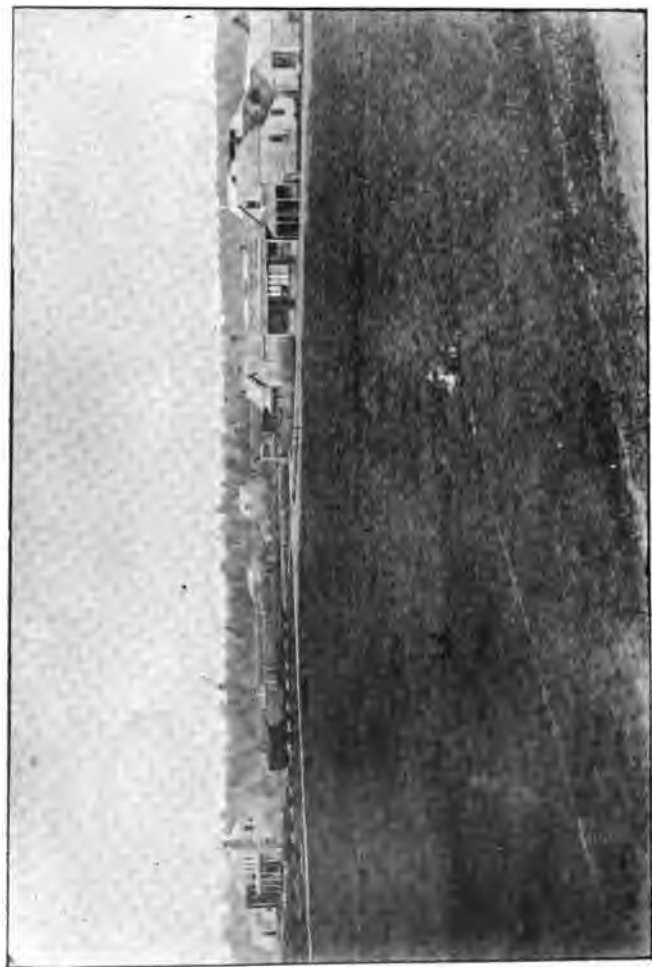
Horomona Toremi demanded £20,000. Aperahama Te Huruhuru, Parakaia Te Pouepa, Aperahama Te Ruru, and Henare Te Herekau spoke in opposition.

Henare Hopa, Rewiti, and Apiata, who were on the side of the opposition on the previous day, expressed themselves favourable to the sale.

Tamihana Te Rauparaha said he had abandoned his proposition as to an acreage payment, because he



VIEW OF THE SQUARE, PALMERSTON NORTH. 1877.
Looking from Fitzherbert Street towards the North East side.



VIEW OF THE SQUARE, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.
North Eastern Side.

had found that there were insuperable difficulties in the way of such a plan. He then proposed £20,000 as a reasonable price for the whole block.

Paora Pohotiraha (of Waikawa) declared himself in in favour of selling, and supported Tamihana Te Rauparaha.

After some further discussion, Wi Pukapuka proposed that the price should be £50,000; while Noa Te Rauhihi named £40,000. Te Rei Paehua, Tapa Te Whata, and Hori Te Waharoa adopted the latter proposal, and Wi Pukapuka ultimately agreed to the same.

Te Hoia (from Poroutawhao) said he was one of the remote claimants. He was opposed to all land selling, but they did not think they could prevent Ihakara selling the block if he was so disposed.

Matene Te Whiwbi refused to declare himself on either side. If sold, he trusted the natives would get a good price for the land. If not sold, he hoped the people would take immediate steps to get their claims individualized. He was anxious to see the whole matter fairly argued.

Epira Taitimu said that his people were opposed to land selling, but that in this particular case the matter rested chiefly with Ihakara.

Neri Puratari (who was afterwards among the first to sign the memorandum of sale) made a violent speech in opposition.

Wereta Te Waha and Piripi Te Rangiatauhua (both of whom afterwards signed the agreement) also spoke strongly against the proposed sale.

Peeti Te Awe Awe, on behalf of the Rangitane and Muaupoko tribes, said that in the absence of the Ngatiapa claimants, they would reserve what they had to say for some future occasion.

Takerei Te Nawe spoke in favour of the sale,

and condemned the opposition offered by distant claimants.

A number of other Ngatiraukawa natives having addressed the meeting in favour of the sale, Aperahama Te Huruhuru, Nepia Wiriharai, and Tohutohu spoke again on the side of the opposition.

Te Kooro (of Oroua) who had previously been opposed, said that if he could get some guarantee that the division of the purchase money would be fair and equitable, he would at once withdraw all opposition to the sale.

7th April.—The discussion was resumed at the usual hour, and continued with great warmth throughout the day, the principal speakers being the same as on previous days. The question had been very fairly and patiently argued on both sides. Many who at the outset had declared against the sale, were now avowedly favourable to it, and it was evident that the spirit of opposition had been in a great measure crushed by the resolute determination of Ihakara and the other leading chiefs to effect a sale of the disputed block.

Towards evening the discussion had virtually worn itself out, and Dr. Featherston was earnestly called upon by the whole meeting to declare himself, and to state clearly his intentions.

Ihakara made his final speech as follows:—Dr. Featherston, the land is yours, take it. Give me the payment. Here are the people, let them consent. Refuse not, lest there be fighting. Let the tribes have the money—Ngatiraukawa, Ngatiapa, Rangitane, all the tribes. Let my eyes rest only on the money, let the people take it. I don't want the money, let the tribes take it all. You saved the lives of my children, the land is yours. The *pas* were built, and the people were preparing for war. The ministers of the gospel came but we did not listen. The magistrates came, but we

did not listen. You came—our Superintendent, and the friend of the Maoris—then the people listened. They then turned from fighting to planting potatoes (*i.e.*, industrial pursuits). Listen not to the words of my relatives (meaning the opposition). Pay the money and all the opposition will disappear. It was so when the Awahou block was sold. Rangitikei is in your hands, hold it fast for ever and ever! The people are now waiting for your reply.

Dr. Featherston replied briefly, and to the following effect:—He stated that he had listened very attentively to all that had been said, and he expressed his satisfaction at the good-humoured and friendly feeling that had prevailed throughout. He said that he felt great difficulty as to the course he should take, especially on one ground, and that was the absence from this important discussion of one of the principal tribes concerned in this dispute. He was aware that the Ngatiapa had refused to respond to a thrice-repeated invitation, and the chief who had convened the meeting might well feel offended at such a studied insult. But, looking at the important interests involved, and to their expressed desire for a final settlement of the whole question, he was about to make a proposal which he trusted would meet with their approval. It was true that the Ngatiapa had not acted well in disregarding the invitation, but he would remind Ihakara that it was not long since that the Ngatiapa invited the Ngatiraukawa chiefs to a feast, and killed several bullocks for their entertainment. The Ngatiraukawa chiefs failed to attend on that occasion, and the Ngatiapa were probably now resenting that slight. He therefore proposed that another and final effort should be made to bring them to the meeting. His proposal was that a deputation of ten or twelve of the leading chiefs from the several tribes present should accompany him in person to Rangitikei and exert their influence to bring the Ngatiapa down. He felt

that the absent tribe would not resist an appeal of this kind.

To Dr. Featherston's proposal the whole meeting readily assented, and the several tribes proceeded at once to nominate the chiefs for this mission. At Dr. Featherston's particular request the anti-sellers were fully represented in the deputation. As a necessary preliminary, a friendly letter, signed by about sixty chiefs of the Ngatiraukawa, Rangitane, and Muaupoko tribes, was forwarded by special messenger to Turakina (the temporary headquarters of the Ngatiapa), requesting the tribe to assemble at their Rangitikei *pā*, on the following Tuesday, to meet the deputation.

The choice of the meeting fell on the following ten chiefs, viz.:—Tamihana Te Rauparaha, Peeti Te Awe Awe, Heremia Te Tihi, Henare Hopa, Hohepa Tamaihengia, Wi Tamihana Te Neke, Winiata Taiho, Noa Te Rauhihi, Te Reweti, and Te Rei Paehua.

On the morning of Monday, the 9th April, Dr. Featherston, accompanied by Mr. Buller and the deputation of chiefs, started for Rangitikei, promising to return to Te Takapu on the following Wednesday. On arriving at Scott's accommodation house, Lower Rangitikei, the special messenger who had been despatched from Te Takapu, on the previous Saturday, met them with an angry letter from Hunia Te Hakeke, ordering the deputation back and refusing to collect his tribe for the purpose named. Dr. Featherston was of opinion that personal influence might succeed where the diplomacy of the native chiefs had failed, and Mr. Buller undertook to make the attempt. Taking with him Peeti Te Awe Awe, he proceeded the same evening to Turakina and thence to Whanganui. The whole night was spent in negotiations, and Mr. Buller returned to the Lower Rangitikei on the following day, accompanied by Hunia Te Hakeke, Tamati Puna (from Whanganui), and

the Ngatiapa tribe. Dr. Featherston and the deputation of Maori chiefs were formally received in Hamuera's *pa* (Parewanui) on the morning of the 11th, and a few hours later the whole party proceeded to the Awahou *pa*, on the south bank of the Rangitikei River, where Ratana Ngahina was lying ill, and thence to the Lower Manawatu, where they arrived late in the evening. In order to keep faith with the meeting, Mr. Buller and several of the chiefs proceeded the same night to Te Takapu, arriving there at 3 a.m.

The Ngatiapa were received at Te Takapu with every demonstration of good feeling.

The proceedings of the 12th were of an unimportant character, all the speeches being complimentary to the Ngatiapa guests. The day was principally devoted to the cultivation of good feeling between the hitherto estranged tribes, and to the establishment of mutual confidence.

Owing to Dr. Featherston's unavoidable absence on the 13th, the meeting adjourned at an early hour, with the general understanding that the discussion had well nigh exhausted itself, and that on the morrow His Honor would reply.

14th April.—The utmost anxiety was manifested for a final and decisive reply, and at the appointed time the natives had assembled, and were waiting eagerly for Dr. Featherston's arrival.

Ihakara called upon Dr. Featherston to reply to the speeches that had been made. The latter invited any of the chiefs present who might wish to address the meeting, before he closed the proceedings, to do so. The discussion was thereupon resumed. Ihakara and the leading selling chiefs were more earnest than before in pressing the sale of the block, while Hunia Te Hakeke openly declared that if the meeting should break up without the sale having been effected, he would return at

once to *pa* building, and would decide the question of title by a trial of strength with the Ngatiraukawa.

Parakaia again brought forward his scheme for a settlement of the question (by a reference to the Land Court), but the proposal was scouted by the Ngatiapa. The Rangitane and Muaupoko were unanimous also in opposing any proposed course but that of an immediate sale to the Crown; while among the anti-sellers there appeared to be very few who regarded Parakaia's proposal with favour. It was tacitly admitted by Aperahama Te Huruhuru and Nepia that although they were now opposing the sale, they could not suggest any other way of settling their quarrel with Ngatiapa.

About 3 p.m. Dr. Featherston rose and made the following speech, which was interpreted to the meeting by Mr. Buller, R.M.:—After expressing his gratification at seeing, for the first time, all the tribes engaged in the dispute before him, and at the friendly relations that had been established between them, he said that he felt confident, from the opinions that had been expressed, and from the conciliatory spirit with which the discussion had been conducted, that the time had arrived for finally closing the dispute. As long as the tribes refused to meet each other the negotiations would have been indefinitely prolonged. Ihakara and other speakers had given a truthful history of the dispute, and he had little or nothing to add to it, but as there were many present whom he had not met at previous meetings he was anxious that it might be made clear to all how it was that he first came as a mediator between them—how it was that he came to be dragged into this long-standing quarrel. Not one of them dared to assert that he had ever asked them to hand over either the quarrel or the land into his hands. Not one of them dared deny that the three tribes had themselves forced upon him, whether he liked it or not, both the quarrel and the land in dispute. On the contrary, Ihakara and others have

declared that he had appeared amongst them only after all other mediators had failed in persuading them to desist from appealing to arms for the settlement of the dispute. But he had not come up of his own accord or uninvited. He came up at the request both of the tribes and of the Government. Why had they invited him? Was it not because during a long period they had ever regarded him as their friend—as one who had ever advocated what he believed to be their true interests—as one in whose justice and integrity they had implicit faith. Why had the Government urged him to undertake such a difficult mission? Simply because they knew that the tribes had confidence in him, and would be more likely to be guided by his advice than by that of any other person. He would now call upon them to say whether by the steps he had taken to stave off the inter-tribal war, and to bring the quarrel to an amicable termination, he had done anything to forfeit their confidence. When he arrived amongst them, in January, 1864, he found both parties in a state of angry irritation—hostile *pas* erected—the red flag flying; nay, the very day for the commencement of the strife, almost fixed, both parties proclaiming that rather than surrender their claims—rather than admit the slightest claim on the part of their opponents—they would fight and die on the land. He appealed to all present who were then at Rangitikei whether in the ranks of the Ngatiapas, Ngatiraukawas, or Rangitanes, whether that was not the true state of affairs. What did he do? For many days he went backwards and forwards between the litigants, proposing various terms, urging them to come to some compromise. He had urged a conference of the principal chiefs of each tribe—he had pressed arbitration upon them—he had urged them to agree to a division of the land—but he had never uttered one word about selling the land to the Queen. Nay, when the Ngatiapas insisted, as the only possible

solution of the difficulty, upon his accepting the land, he refused to accept more than whatever interest they might be found to have; and, again, when the nine chiefs representing the Ngatiraukawas and the Rangitanes, at Wharangi, formally handed the block to him, he only accepted the land subject to the claims of the Ngatiapas, and to the consent of the people to the sale being obtained.

What he wished now to clearly ascertain was whether any one of the proposals he made in 1864 to the tribes can be carried out.

It was then proposed to settle the question by arbitration. Arbitration means that each tribe should appoint a certain number of arbitrators; that if the arbitrators cannot agree, they appoint a third party to decide between them. This was a custom constantly adopted by the *pakehas*, and the decision of the arbitrators or umpire is accepted as a final settlement of the matters referred to them. Now, suppose that they had gone, or will agree to-day to go to arbitration, and that the award of the arbitrators had been or will be that the land in dispute belongs to the Ngatiraukawas and Rangitanes, would the Ngatiapas have acquiesced, or will they now asquiesce in that decision? or if the arbitrators decided that the Ngatiapas were the sole owners of the land, will the other tribes assent to give up their claims? (Universal dissent). Unless the three tribes are prepared to pledge themselves to abide by the award of the arbitrators, arbitration is useless, and can only embitter the dispute, and lead to a recourse to arms.

Another proposal was that the three tribes should divide the land—but they objected to this that they could never agree in what proportion the land should be divided—whether each tribe should take a third, or one tribe a half, and two tribes the other moiety: that even if this difficulty could be got over, who is to decide what

portion of the land is to belong to this tribe, what portion to the other—who was to decide whether one tribe should not be confined to the sand-hills, another tribe to the good land—whether one tribe should not have all the land for which, according to one proposal, he had been called upon to pay two shillings an acre, another tribe all the five-shilling land, and the third all the land they were asking £1 an acre for. Can these difficulties, which were pointed out in January, 1864, be now overcome?—is a division of the land now practicable? (*Kahore, kahore.*)

Another proposal had been made during the discussion by Parakaia and others, that they should take the lands into the Native Lands Court, and have the title of the three tribes claiming an interest in it investigated by that Court. But Parakaia had omitted to tell them many things connected with the Court. He had not told them that all the tribes must consent to take the land into Court—that each tribe must employ surveyors to mark out boundaries of the land it claimed that the tribe must be prepared to accept the decision of the Court as final. Were they prepared to comply with any one of these conditions? Would they all consent to go into the Court? (No, no.) Would any one of them dare to send surveyors on the land, every inch of which they had declared to be in dispute—to be “fighting ground?” Would they agree to abide by the decision of the Court? (Enough, enough.)

He had gone through the proposals to ascertain whether one of them was practicable. Let the tribes say with a united voice that they agree to any one of them—that they will go to arbitration—let them say they will divide the land—let them say they will submit their claims to the decision of Judge Parakaia, and he would declare his concurrence in it.

He now gathered that the six tribes assembled before him were all but unanimous in scouting every one

of these proposals, and were more than ever convinced that the only possible solution of the dispute was, to use their own words, an absolute sale of the land in dispute to the Crown, and after having for many days patiently heard all they had to say, he had no hesitation in expressing his entire concurrence in that conviction.

During the whole time the discussions had lasted he had refused to take any part in them, or to answer a single question, or to give the slightest inkling of his intention. They had declared that they had said all they had to say, and now formally called upon him to declare, whether or not, as the only means of preventing bloodshed, he was prepared to accept the block and complete its purchase. He knew the responsibility which his decisive answer would entail upon him, but he had not the slightest hesitation in giving it. Matene Te Whiwhi, in one of his speeches, said that the chiefs when they handed the block over to him at Wharangi, in 1864, committed a grave mistake in not then and there concluding the sale without reference to the opinion of the tribes—that had the chiefs adopted that course, their people must have acquiesced, and there would have been an end of the matter. He (Dr. Featherston) repeated what he had then and often since said, that he would purchase no land without the consent of the people. But what did he mean by the consent of the people or tribe? He did not mean that the opposition of one man (not a principal chief) should prevent a whole tribe selling their land. Neither did he mean that a small section of one tribe should be allowed to forbid some six or seven tribes disposing of a block which they were anxious to sell. However much he might insist upon having the consent of the tribe, of all the real and principal claimants, he would be no party to such a manifest injustice as would be implied by one or two men, probably possessing little or no interest in the land, forbidding the tribes selling it,

or in a small section of one tribe opposing the wishes of some half-dozen tribes, especially when the carrying out of the decision of the majority was the only means of avoiding an inter-tribal war.

The question, then, that arose in his mind was whether there was such a consent of the tribes assembled before him to the sale as would justify him in at once declaring his acceptance of their offer. He had hitherto in all the purchases he had made studiously avoided buying a disputed block, and certainly would not do so now. None of the purchases he had made had ever been impugned; they had all been open and above board. Some natives had undoubtedly complained, not of the validity of the purchase, but that they had not received their fair share of the purchase money. He never had himself distributed the purchase money and never would. He had always handed over the purchase money to chiefs nominated by the sellers, to be by them distributed; and such would ever be the course pursued by him. The tribes must hold not him but the chiefs appointed to receive and distribute the purchase money responsible for its equitable apportionment. Once the money was placed by him in the hands of the nominated chiefs, his responsibility ceased. But the question is, whether he had such a consent to the sale as would justify him in accepting the block. He would therefore call upon every one of the tribes to declare publicly before this meeting by their chiefs whether or not the tribes consented to the sale.

He would call upon the several tribes to give their answer by the chiefs. He called upon the Whanganui tribe to say whether or not they were agreed to the sale. Tamati Puna at once said, "We are unanimous; all have consented." Dr. Featherston then called upon the Ngatiapa to declare what their decision was. "Governor" Hunia on the part of the tribe said, "You know our decision; we all insist upon the sale." What

say the Muaupoko tribe? Hoani Te Puihi replied on behalf of the tribe, "We are all unanimous in favour of the sale." What is the answer of the Ngatitao to this question? and he called upon Matene Te Whiwhi, Tamihana Te Rauparaha, and Hohepa, distinctly and severally, to reply on behalf of the tribe they represented. The three chiefs, one after the other, declared that the tribe was unanimous. What said the Rangitane? Peeti Te Awe Awe replied, "We also are unanimous; all have consented." Lastly, he would call upon the Ngatiraukawa who he knew were divided in their opinions. Ihakara expressed his regret that they were not like all the other tribes unanimous in favour of the sale, but the large majority of them were so determined to sell, especially all the principal claimants, that he insisted upon the purchase being completed. Knowing that those who were at present holding out would soon become consenting parties, he never would listen to any other mode of adjusting the dispute. Dr. Featherston then said that his course was clear. Five of the six tribes were unanimous in their determination to sell, and of the Ngatiraukawa only a small section opposed the sale. Of that section the two principal chiefs, Nepia Taratoa and Aperahama Te Huru, had some time since given their consent, and had repeatedly protested against the delay that had occurred in bringing the transaction to a close. Great chiefs like them were not in the habit of repudiating engagements entered into in the face of the whole tribe. He was certain, therefore, that the present opposition would not be persisted in. Of the other opponents many had already told him that they would abide by the decision of the majority, and would sign the deed of purchase. He felt, therefore, so confident that the deed would ultimately be executed by all the real claimants, that he had no difficulty in publicly announcing his acceptance of the block, and in congratulating them upon this long-standing feud being

thus amicably settled and finally adjusted. [This announcement was received with great applause, not a few of the opponents exclaiming "Rangitikei is fairly sold, is for ever gone from us."] Dr. Featherston then reminded them that there were other questions to settle, viz., the price, in what proportion the purchase money was to be divided, and what chiefs were to distribute the money. The two latter might be left till the deed was signed, but the price must be fixed before the meeting broke up. Several amounts had been mentioned, some exorbitant, others not unreasonable. Let the tribes leave this matter in the hands of their chiefs, and they would find him prepared to meet them in a liberal spirit. This was ultimately fixed at £25,000.

On the following Monday morning, 16th April, a formal announcement was made of the terms on which the sale had been concluded. A memorandum of agreement affirming the sale and describing the boundaries of the land to be ceded was then prepared, and was afterwards signed by upwards of two hundred of the principal claimants. The majority of the chiefs present then urged that an instalment of the purchase money should be at once paid; but as Hunia and a few others objected, Dr. Featherston refused to pay a single farthing without the consent of all, and until the deed of purchase was executed.*

The deliberations of the natives thus ended as Hoani Meihana had predicted six months before, in an agreement to sell the land to the

* Dr Featherston's method of inviting all the tribes to say whether or not they agreed to the sale seems particularly fair on the face of it, but it must be remembered that according to Maori custom five of the tribes represented had not a vestige of right to say whether the land should be sold or not. At the same time it was perfectly natural for them to agree to the sale, if by so doing they could obtain a share of the purchase money, and it is doubtful whether the conduct of many Europeans would have been different under similar circumstances. Most people are, at times, willing to shed the last drop of their brother's blood, or sell the last acre of his land.

Queen, but there was still sufficient opposition left to make the position anything but secure. Immediately upon the conclusion of the meeting several of the opponents, headed by Parakaia te Pouepa and Henare te Herekau, set off for Wellington, where they proposed to lay their case before Parliament, by whose good offices they hoped to prevent the completion of the sale. Their protest against what they regarded as the seizure of the last fruits of their conquest was a quaint and characteristic document, which will bear reproduction, although its authors deliver themselves in such a lofty tone that one might imagine that when *they* had spoken *all* had spoken.

That was the word to hold fast that I spoke to Featherston from the first, *i.e.*, this side of the Rangitikei. I held back from the hand of Governor Grey, from McLean, and of Ngatiapa, but I finished (sold out) the other side to that Governor. After this came Governor Browne, who also wanted Rangitikei and Manawatu. I consented to the Awahou and Ahuaturanga, and the wish of the people was fulfilled towards that Governor and this. I have ended the desire to sell land to the Queen. This is my heart which you are now urging me to give you, but to hold it fast is the only word remaining. I am not willing to give this small piece to you. This was the only word of Ngatiraukawa to Featherston on the 5th of April; the third was, let the Court of Judgment decide. This is the only way to make this land light, and this is the thing for which we wait. On the 14th of the days Featherston made the payment. His talk was light, and acceptable to four tribes, but the falling of the

wrong was upon us. It was a new word. There are 800 of Whanganui, 200 of Ngatiapa, Rangitane and Muaupoko 100. As for you Ngatiraukawa you are a half—you are small. Another word of Featherston's. We went together, we and these tribes to fight the rebel tribes under the authority (*mana*) of the Queen. They have consented to sell and I have agreed to their proposals, and this land has come into my hands. I hold it. Then we pronounced his words to be wrong. We said your act is a Maori robbery of our land. The 800 of Whanganui are not present in this transaction. You are pretending that an agreement has been made to make us fear. He replied, "Enough, it is done. I shall give the money to those who have sold the land." We said that is wrong. We shall hold our own land. We shall not take your money. Such persistency was the word of all the men.

But, although these objectors had their friends in the House of Representatives, they could not set back the hand of time or stay the appointed course of events, and during the next few months the work of collecting signatures to the deed of sale proceeded, but only slowly. It was no simple task to go from *pa* to *pa*, from settlement to settlement, nestling, as they did, along the river banks, and in wild and inaccessible spots, endeavouring to induce the natives to do that from which many of their fellows were daily seeking to dissuade them. Under these circumstances much persuasion was required, innumerable explanations had to be made, and often the good work accomplished in an hour would be

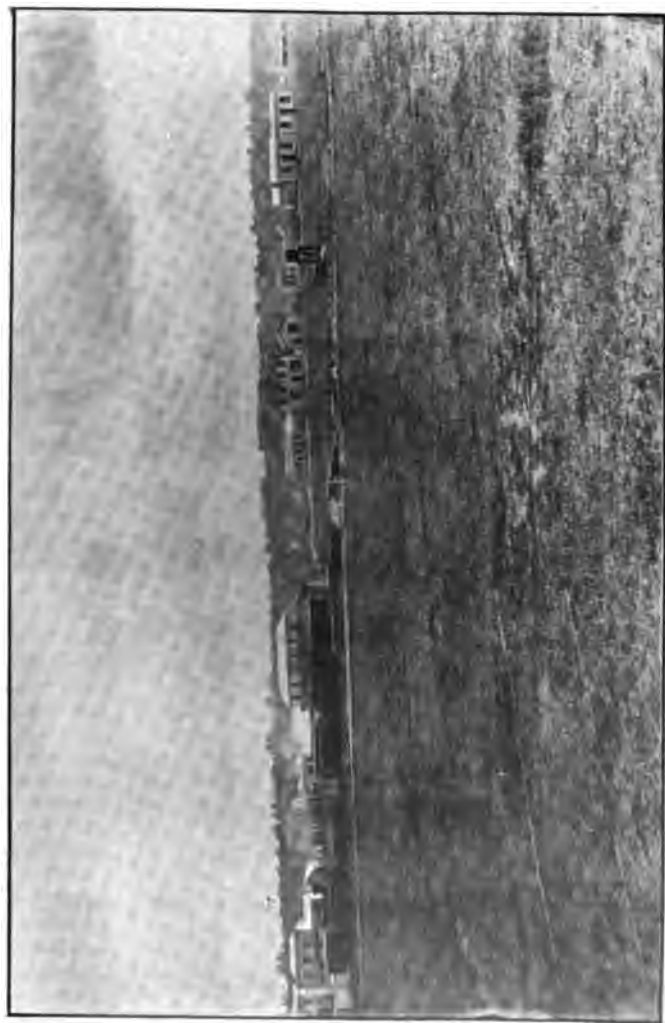
undone in a moment by a sinister suggestion from some hostile bystander.* Thus it was not until late in the year that all who were likely to sign the deed of sale had done so, and the Superintendent was in a position to summon the big meeting for the 10th of December. On that day the tribes from far and near had gathered at the Parewanui *pa*, and as Dr. Featherston, accompanied by Mr. Buller and several English gentlemen, drove up to the village, the native women chanted this song of welcome—

Here is Petatone,†
 This is the tenth of December ;
 The sun shines and the birds sing ;
 Clear is the water in the rivers and streams ;
 Bright is the sky and the sun is high in the air.
 This is the tenth of December ;
 But where is the money ?
 Three years has this matter in many debates been discussed ;
 And here at last is Petatone,
 But where is the money ?

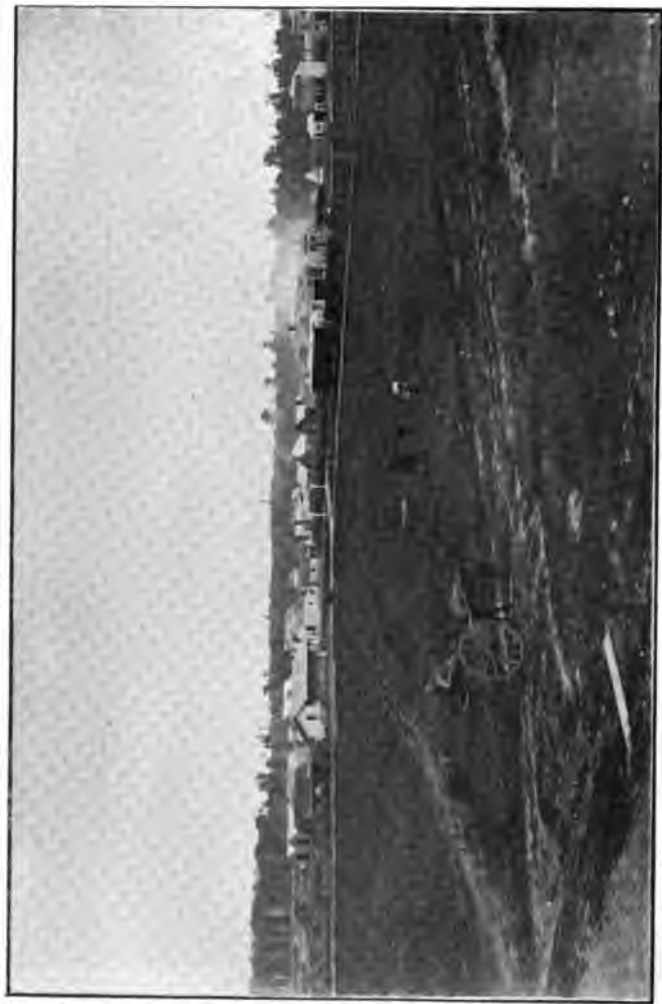
What took place at that historic meeting has been thus graphically described by Sir Charles Dilke, for whom the incident provided a chapter in his "Greater Britain."

* One can easily understand what sort of negotiations would be going on during all these years. A deed of cession was carried round among the natives, and every kind of persuasion used to induce them to sign it. Time after time it made its appearance, and naturally enough "the sickness of hope deferred"—the unlikelihood of any investigation into the title being obtained—broke down the resolution of numbers of those who felt that an injustice was being done to them—*Wanganui Chronicle*, July, 1867.

† Dr. Featherston.



VIEW OF THE SQUARE, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.
North Western Side.



VIEW OF THE SQUARE, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.
South Western Side.

A band of Maori women, slowly chanting in a high strained key, stood at the gate of the *pā*, and met with this song a few Englishmen who were driving rapidly on to their land.

Our track lay through a swamp of the New Zealand flax. Huge sword-like leaves and giant flower-stalks all but hid from view the Maori stockades. To the left was a village of low *whares*, fenced round with a double row of lofty posts, carved with rude images of gods and men, and having posterns here and there. On the right were groves of *karakas*—children of Tanemahuta—the New Zealand sacred trees; under their shade, on a hill, a camp and another and larger *pā*. In startling contrast to the dense masses of oily leaves, there stretched a great extent of light green sward, where there were other camps and a tall flagstaff, from which floated the white flag and the Union Jack, emblems of British sovereignty and peace.

A thousand kilted Maoris dotted the green landscape with patches of brilliant tartans and scarlet cloth. Women lounged about, whiling away the time with dance and song; and from all the corners of the glade the soft cadence of the Maori cry of welcome came floating to us on the breeze, sweet as the sound of distant bells.

As we drove quickly on we found ourselves in the midst of a thronging crowd of square-built men, brown in colour, and for the most part not much darker than Spaniards, but with here and there a woolly negro in their ranks. Glancing at them as we were hurried past we saw that the men were robust, well limbed, and tall. They greeted us pleasantly, with many a cheerful, open smile: but the faces of the older people were horribly tattooed in spiral curves. The chiefs carried battle clubs of jade and bone; the women wore strange ornaments. At the flagstaff we pulled up, and, while the preliminaries of the council were arranged, had time to discuss

with Maori and with *pakeha* the questions that had brought us thither.

The purchase of an enormous block of land—that of the Manawatu—had long been an object wished for and worked for by the Provincial Government of Wellington. The completion of the sale it was that had brought the Superintendent, Dr. Featherston, and humbler *pakehas* to Parewanui *pa*. It was not only that the land was wanted by way of room for the flood of settlers, but purchase by the Government was, moreover, the only means whereby war between the various native claimants of the land could be prevented. The *pakeha* and Maori had agreed upon a price; the question that remained for settlement was how the money should be shared. One tribe had owned the land from the earliest times; another had conquered some miles of it; a third had had one of its chiefs cooked and eaten up on the ground. In the eye of the Maori law, the last of these titles was the best; the blood of a chief overrides all mere historic claims. The two strongest human motives concurred to make war probable, for avarice and jealousy alike prevented agreement as to the division of spoil. Each of the three tribes claiming had half a dozen allied and related nations upon the ground; every man was there who had a claim, direct or indirect, or thought he had, to any portion of the block. Individual ownership and tribal ownership conflicted. The Ngatiapa were well armed; the Ngati-raukawa had their rifles; the Whanganuis sent for theirs. The greatest tact on the part of Dr. Featherston was needed to prevent a fight such as would have roused New Zealand from Auckland to Port Nicholson.

On a signal from the Superintendent the heralds went round the camps and *pas* to call the tribes to council. The summons was a long-drawn, minor descending scale—a plaintive cadence, which at a distance blends into a bell-like chord. The words mean, "Come hither! come hither! Come, come! Maoris

come!" and men, women, and children soon came thronging in from every side, the chiefs bearing sceptres and spears of ceremony, and their women wearing round their necks the symbol of nobility, the *Hei-tiki*, or greenstone god. These images, we were told, have pedigrees and names like those of men.

We, with the Resident Magistrate of Whanganui, seated ourselves beneath the flagstaff. A chief, meeting the people as they came up, stayed them with the gesture that Homer ascribes to Hector, and bade them sit in a huge circle round the spar.

No sooner were we seated on our mat than there ran slowly into the centre of the ring a plumed and kilted chief, with sparkling eyes—the perfection of a savage. Halting suddenly, he raised himself upon his toes, frowned, and stood brandishing his short feathered spear. It was Hunia te Hakeke, the young chief of the Ngatiapa. Throwing off his plaid, he commenced to speak, springing hither and thither with leopard-like freedom of gait, and sometimes leaping high in the air to emphasise a word. Fierce as were the gestures, his speech was conciliatory, and the Maori flowed from his lips—a soft Tuscan tongue. As, with a movement full of vigorous grace, he sprang back to the ranks to take his seat, there ran round the ring a hum and buzz of popular applause.

"Governor" Hunia was followed by a young Whanganui chief, who wore hunting-breeches and high boots, and a long black mantle over his European clothes. There was something odd in the shape of his cloak, and, when we came to look closely at it, we found that it was the skirt of the riding habit of his half-caste wife. The great chiefs paid so little heed to this flippant fellow as to stand up and harangue their tribes in the middle of his speech, which came thus to an untimely end. A funny old grey-beard—Waitere Marumaru—next rose, and, smothering down the jocularity of his face,

turned towards us for a moment the typical head of Peter, as you see it on the windows of every modern church—for a moment only; for, as he raised his hand to waive his tribal sceptre, his apostolic drapery began to slip from off his shoulders, and he had to clutch at it with the energy of a topman taking in a reef in a whole gale. His speech was full of Nestorian proverbs and wise saws; but he wandered off into a history of the Whanganui lands, by which he soon became as wearied as we ourselves were, for he stopped short, and, with a twinkle of the eye, said, "Ah, Waitere is no longer young: he is climbing the snow-clad mountain Ruahine; he is becoming an old man"; and down he sat.

Karanama, a small Ngatiraukawa chief, with a white moustache, who looked like an old French *concierge*, followed Marumaru, and, with much use of his sceptre, related a dream foretelling the happy issue of the negotiations; for the little man was one of those "dreamers of dreams" against whom Moses warned the Israelites.

Karanama's was not the only trance and vision of which we heard in the course of these debates. The Maoris believe that in their dreams the seers hear great bands of spirits singing chants. These, when they wake, the prophets reveal to all the people; but it is remarked that the vision is generally to the advantage of the seer's tribe.

Karanama's speech was answered by the head chief of the Rangitane Maoris, Te Peeti Te Awe Awe, who, throwing off his upper clothing as he warmed to his subject, and strutting pompously round and round the ring, challenged Karanama to immediate battle, or his tribe to general encounter; but he cooled down as he went on, and in his last sentence showed us that Maori oratory, however ornate usually, can be made extremely terse. "It is hot," he said, "it is hot, and the very birds are loth to sing. We have talked for a week, and are therefore dry. Let us take our share—£10,000, or

whatever we can get—and then we shall be dry no more.” The Maori custom of walking about, dancing, leaping, undressing, running, and brandishing spears during the delivery of a speech is convenient for all parties: to the speaker, because it gives him time to think what he shall say next; to the listener, because it allows him to weigh the speaker’s words; to the European hearer, because it permits the interpreter to keep pace with the orator without an effort. On this occasion the Resident Magistrate of Whanganui—Mr. Buller, a Maori scholar of eminence, and the attached friend of some of the chiefs—interpreted for Dr. Featherston, and we were allowed to lean over him in such a way as to hear every word that passed. That the able Superintendent of Wellington—the great protector of the Maoris, the man to whom they look as to Queen Victoria’s second in command—should be wholly dependent upon interpreters, however skilled, seems almost too singular to be believed; but it is possible that Dr. Featherston may find in pretended want of knowledge much advantage to the Government. He is able to collect his thoughts before he replies to a difficult question; he can allow an epithet to escape his notice in the filter of translation, he can listen and speak with greater dignity.

The day was wearing on before Te Peeti’s speech was done, and, as the Maoris say, our waistbands began to slip down low; so all now went to lunch, both Maori and *pakeha*, they sitting in circles, each with his bowl or flax-blade dish and wooden spoon, we having a table and a chair or two in the mission-house; but we were so tempted by Hori Kingi’s whitebait that we begged some of him as he passed.

While the men’s eating was thus going on many of the women stood idly round, and we were enabled to judge of Maori beauty. A profusion of long, crisp curls, a short black pipe thrust between stained lips, a pair of

black eyes gleaming from a tattooed face, denote the Maori "belle," who wears for her only robe a long bedgown of dirty calico, but whose ears and neck are tricked out with greenstone ornaments, the signs of birth and wealth. Here and there you find a girl with long smooth tresses, and almond-shaped black eyes; these charms often go along with prominent thin features, and suggest at once the Jewess and the gipsy girl. The women smoke continually; the men not much.

When at 4 o'clock we returned to the flagstaff, we found that the temperature, which during the morning had been too hot, had become that of a fine English June—the air light, the trees and grass lit by a gleaming yellow sunshine that reminded me of the Californian haze.

During luncheon we had heard that Dr. Featherston's proposals as to the division of the purchase money had been accepted by the Ngatiapa, but not by Hunia himself, whose vanity would brook no scheme not of his own conception. We were no sooner returned to the ring than he burst in upon us with a defiant speech. "Unjust," he declared, "as was the proposition of great Petatone (Featherston), he would have accepted it for the sake of peace had he been allowed to divide the tribal share; but as the Whanganuis insisted on having a third of his £15,000, and as Petatone seemed to support them in their claim, he should have nothing more to do with the sale. The Whanganuis claim as our relatives," he said; "verily the pumpkin-shoots spread far."

Karanama, the seer, stood up to answer Hunia, and began his speech in a tone of ridicule. "Hunia is like the tea-tree: if you cut him down he sprouts again." Hunia sat quietly through a good deal of this kind of wit, till at last some epithet provoked him to interrupt the speaker. "What a fine fellow you are Karanama; you'll tell us soon that you have two pairs of legs."

"Sit down!" shrieked Karanama, and a word war ensued, but the abuse was too full of native raciness and vigour to be fit for English ears. The chiefs kept dancing round the ring, threatening each other with their spears. "Why do not you hurl at me, Karanama?" said Hunia, "it is easier to parry spears than lies." At last Hunia sat down. Karanama, feinting and making at him with his spear, reproached him with a serious flaw in his pedigree—a blot which is said to account for Hunia's hatred to the Ngatiraukawa, to whom his mother was for years a slave. Hunia, without rising from the ground, shrieked "Liar!" Karanama again spoke the obnoxious word. Springing from the ground, Hunia snatched his spear from where it stood, and ran at his enemy as though to strike him. Karanama stood stock-still. Coming up to him at a charge Hunia suddenly stopped, raised himself on tip-toe, shaking his spear, and flung out some contemptuous epithet: then turned, and stalked slowly, with a springing gait, back to his own corner of the ring. There he stood haranguing his people in a bitter undertone. Karanama did the like with his. The interpreters could not keep pace with what was said. We understood that the chiefs were calling each upon his tribe to support him, if need were, in war. After a few minutes of this pause they wheeled round, as though by a common impulse, and again began to pour out torrents of abuse. The applause became frequent, hums quickened into shouts, cheer followed cheer, till at last the ring was alive with men and women springing from the ground, and crying out upon the opposing leader for a dastard.

We had previously been told to have no fear that resort would be had to blows. The Maoris never fight upon a sudden quarrel: war is with them a solemn act, entered upon only after much deliberation. Those of us who were strangers to New Zealand were nevertheless not without our doubts, while for half an hour we

lay upon the grass watching the armed champions running round the ring, challenging each other to mortal combat on the spot.

The chieftains at last became exhausted, and, the mission-bell beginning to toll for evening chapel, Hunia broke off in the middle of his abuse: "Ah! I hear the bell"; and turning stalked out of the ring towards his *pā*, leaving it to be inferred, by those who did not know him, that he was going to attend the service. The meeting broke up in confusion, and the Upper Whanganui tribes at once began their march towards the mountains, leaving behind them only a delegation of chiefs.

The first day's talk had therefore resulted in nothing practical being accomplished towards a settlement of the tribal differences, for it was apparently one thing to consent to the sale of the land and another thing to agree upon a division of the spoil. The Ngatiapa, with their usual proclivity for making extortionate demands, clamoured for £22,000 of the total amount agreed upon, leaving £3000 as the share of the Ngatiraukawa; while that tribe contended for an equal division, and that between them they should satisfy those who had secondary claims to the block—the Ngatiapa those to the north, and the Ngatiraukawa those to the south of the Rangitikei River. In the face of these irreconcilable differences it was useless to prolong the discussions, and as an escape from the impassable deadlock the two tribes

both agreed to refer the point in dispute to the decision of Dr. Featherston, at the same time distinctly guarding themselves against being bound to adopt his judgment. It was with no little hesitation that the Superintendent accepted the position of arbitrator under these circumstances, but he was at length driven to comply with the wish of the chiefs by the fear that there was no other alternative but war—that if the meeting should break up without the completion of the purchase, the rival tribes would at once assert their conflicting claims by force of arms, and that the whole of the West Coast would be speedily plunged into a general native disturbance. After some little consideration he therefore submitted a proposal that Ngatiapa should receive £15,000, and Ngatiraukawa £10,000. This allotment was at first hotly resented by the Ngatiapa, whose notions of equity were greatly outraged by such an equal division, but under further debate the opposition gradually broke down, and the award was ultimately unanimously accepted by all parties as perfectly fair and equitable, the Ngatiraukawa chiefs even agreeing to set apart a liberal portion of their share for the outstanding claimants of their tribes.

As Dr. Featherston had wisely refused to have anything to do with the distribution of

the money, and insisted that the responsibility should be assumed by the natives themselves, the next proceeding was to appoint chiefs who were to act as the representatives of the tribes, and who were to receive payment on behalf of the people. Considering the prominent part which "Governor" Hunia had played in the dispute from its very beginning—indeed, considering that without his audacious bluster there would have been no dispute at all—it is not surprising that the Ngatiapa appointed him to complete what he had begun, and with him his trusty lieutenant Aperahama Tipae. Ngatiraukawa chose as their delegates Ihakara, who had stood for peace during four trying years, and Aperahama Te Huruhuru, who had once more ranged himself on the side of the sellers.

On the 13th of December the people had again assembled in solemn council, once more to deliberate upon the all important issue before them, when "Governor" Hunia arose and announced on behalf of the Ngatiapa that all the people had agreed to Dr. Featherston's division of the purchase money, and he called upon the Superintendent to go at once and bring it to the chiefs who had been appointed to receive it. He stated that he and Aperahama Tipae had been entrusted with

the receipt of the Ngatiapa-Rangitane share, and they pledged themselves to scrupulously observe a fair distribution with the associated *hapus*, and in like manner he called upon Ihakara and Aperahama Te Huruhuru to be equally solicitous for the interests of all the claimants in their tribe. To this speech Ihakara replied in conciliatory terms, and assured Dr. Featherston that he would make ample provision for all the dissentients of his tribe who had refused to sign the deed, and would if necessary hand their allotted shares over to His Honor for safe custody.

A brief but appropriate speech from Dr. Featherston followed, and then the most striking and picturesque scene of the great transaction was enacted when "Governor" Hunia, as the representative of the Ngatiapa, and Ihakara as the leader of the Ngatiraukawa, headed a procession of all the natives present, and bearing between them the tin box containing the deed of sale, marched round the *pa*, and up to the flagstaff where they deposited the deed on a table set for its reception. Mr. Buller then opened the large roll of parchment and read aloud to the assembled people the final deed of surrender. At the conclusion of the reading Dr. Featherston, as Land Purchase Commissioner, came forward and signed the deed in due form, his signature being attested by Howard Kennard,

C. Wentworth Dilke, B.A., C. Hillingsworth, B.A., all of London,* and by Walter Buller, Resident Magistrate at Whanganui.

The tribes then joined in chanting a song of farewell to the land, with its woods and waters, its gardens and its fisheries which they realised they had parted with for ever "under the shining sun of day." After these final touches had been given to the long and protracted negotiations, Dr. Featherston started for Whanganui to bring out the money, the payment of which would conclude the most important purchase of native land which up to that time had been effected in the colony. On the next day but one† he returned, bringing with him the cash, which had been advanced to the province by the General Government. But before the distribution of that money took place, Dr. Featherston deemed it prudent to reward the man whose avarice had played so completely into his own hands, and to compliment a chief who had repeatedly declared that he would prefer to bathe the land in blood in preference to adjusting his dispute with his neighbours in a peaceable and rational manner. If a leading Wellington journal of that day is to

* These were three young English gentlemen who were then travelling through the colony. Mr. Dilke is the present Sir Charles Dilke, well known in English politics, and it was during this tour he collected the materials for his well-known work, "Greater Britain."

† Saturday, 15th December, 1866.

be relied upon, the Superintendent's first step was to address the people in terms of which the following is a fair epitome :—

He said that before handing over the £25,000 in final completion of the Manawatu purchase he had a pleasing duty to perform towards a chief who had taken an active part in the long, difficult, and tedious negotiations now successfully concluded. He was anxious to give "Governor" Hunia, in the presence of the assembled tribes, some token of his approbation. He had decided in his own mind that the signet ring with which he was about to present him was the most appropriate token because of its symbolic associations. It was hardly necessary for him to explain that in the holy institution of matrimony the ring is the pledge or token of the solemn vows that are made at the altar ; and that, in like manner, he desired to symbolise the establishment of a firm and lasting friendship between the Ngatiapa and Ngatiraukawa tribes.

Dr. Featherston then placed the ring on "Governor" Hunia's finger, at the same time pronouncing this solemn injunction—

Let this ring be a token that there is no longer any enmity between the tribes, and that henceforth they will live together on terms of mutual goodwill, in friendship with the *pakeha*, and in loyalty to our Gracious Queen, And "Governor" Hunia, long may you live to wear it!

The formal handing over of the money then took place, and when "Governor" Hunia and Aperahama Tipae had received the Ngatiapa-Rangitane share of £15,000, and Ibakara and his Ngatiraukawa comrade

had accepted their £10,000,* "Governor" Hunia, standing at the foot of the flag-pole on which the Queen's flag now floated, made the final speech, and then affixed his signature along with that of Ihakara to receipts on the back of the deed, "on behalf of, and in the presence of the assembled tribes," their signatures being witnessed by Mr. H. J. Kennard, gentleman, London; C. Wentworth Dilke, B.A., barrister, London; J. E. Hillingsworth, B.A., London; A. Follet Halcombe, sheepfarmer, Rangitikei; M. W. Anderson, contractor, Wellington; Walter Buller, R.M., Whanganui.

But although the deed of sale had been signed, and the purchase money paid, the question of title could not be considered by any means incontestably settled. A section of the Ngatiraukawa tribe still protested against what they regarded as a foolish recognition of the Ngatiapa claims, and an iniquitous alienation of their rights over the conquered country. Conspicuous amongst these was a chief named Parakaia Te Pouepa, whose *hapu* lived near Foxton, in the locality still known as Himatangi. Parakaia had always been most pronounced in his opposition to the sale. He it was who told Dr. Featherston, "I am not a servant working for

* One of these sovereigns is now in the possession of Mr. John Kobbell of Ohau, who was also present when the payment was made.

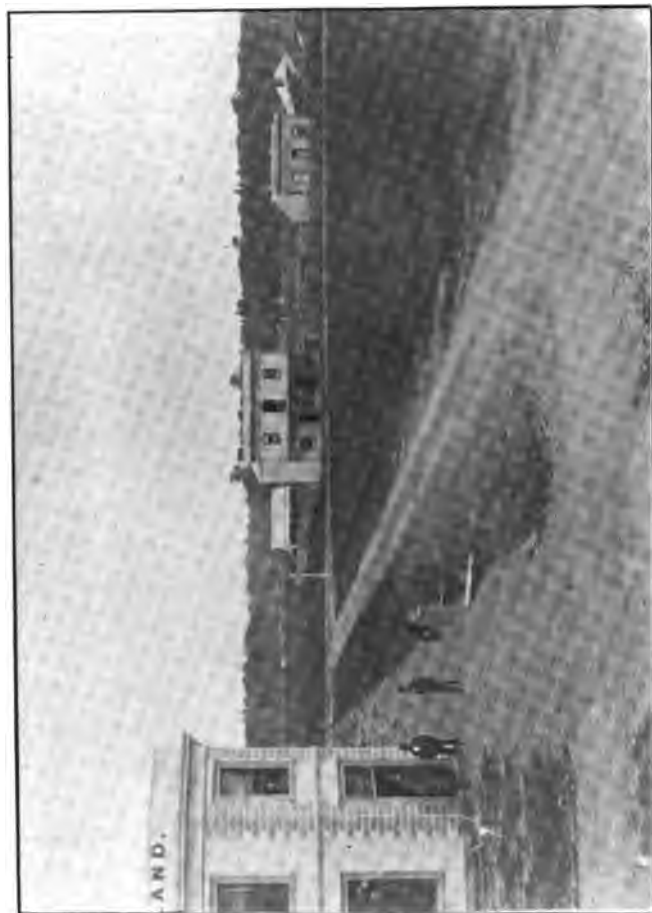
hire. No man said to me 'retain your land.' I retain it of my own accord." In his efforts to retain it he petitioned the Queen, he petitioned Parliament, and he interviewed the Governor, but neither the indifference of Parliament nor the persuasions of Sir George Grey could induce him to deviate from his fixed determination. Under the old order of things he doubtless would have been as eager as anyone to settle the dispute with the Ngatiapa by an appeal to arms, but, recognising the incompatibility of war with the civilisation which he was professing to encourage, he strenuously advocated the adoption of the constitutional course of referring the whole question at issue to the judgment of the Native Land Court. At more than one meeting he unavailingly urged this mode of settlement upon the tribe, but his position and that of others with him was so strongly hedged about by immutable justice that it could not be ignored, and Dr. Featherston frankly admitted to the Provincial Council that some provision would have to be made for those natives who steadfastly refused to cede their claims to the Crown.

Before that provision could be made, however, it was necessary to ascertain what their precise rights were, and only an investigation before a competent tribunal could settle so

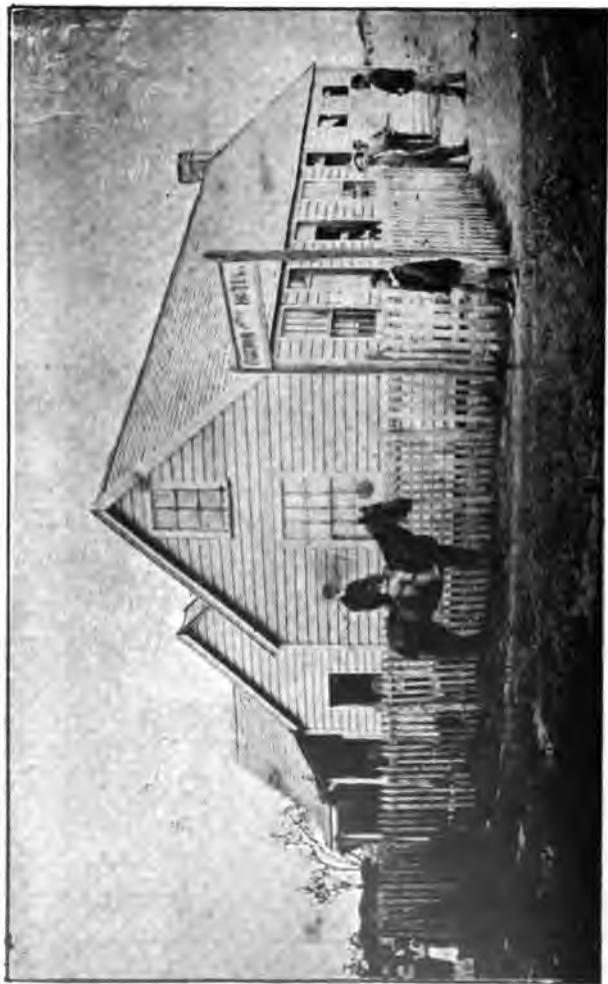
delicate and involved a point. For this purpose advantage was taken of the provisions of the Native Lands Act, of 1865, and finally Parakaia's desire to have his claim of ownership to the Himatangi Block referred to the Native Land Court was granted, and thus began the litigation which kept the whole Coast in a state of turmoil for years.

The sittings of the Court were held at Otaki, and were presided over by Judge Smith, who had associated with him Justices Rogan and White, with Ropata Ngarongomate, and Matai Pene Tauai as Native Assessors. The case for the natives was conducted by Mr. T. C. Williams, while Mr. Fox appeared as advocate for the Crown, and in his closing address delivered a speech which must rank as one of the finest examples of his characteristic oratory. It is needless to recapitulate here the conflicting testimony called to prove and disprove Parakaia's claim to Himatangi, for the reader will be able to follow its general trend by a perusal of the Court's judgment, which was delivered on April 27th, 1868.

Before giving judgment on this very important case the Court desires to acknowledge the valuable assistance it has received during the conduct of a protracted and very tedious investigation, both from the Agent, who has appeared for the native claimants, and from the counsel for the Crown; also to express its satisfaction at the very orderly behaviour of the natives. We do not con-



VIEW OF THE SQUARE, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.



WHYTE'S HOTEL, FOXTON, 1888.

Situated in Avenue Road.

sider it necessary to revise in detail the mass of evidence which has been brought before us, nor to advert to the arguments contained in the addresses of the Agent for the natives, and the counsel for the Crown, further than to say that they have been carefully considered by us before coming to a decision. The claim of Parakaia te Pouepa and others, to a certain block of land called Himatangi,* the boundaries of which have been described, has been referred for the purpose of being investigated and adjudicated upon in the manner prescribed by the Native Lands Act, 1865. The claimants apply to the Court to order a certificate of their title asserting rights alleged to have been acquired by conquest, followed by actual occupation. Evidence has been adduced to prove that the original owners were conquered and dispossessed, and that the land has been in the possession and occupation of the claimants from a period antecedent to the establishment of British Government in these islands to the present time. The Crown objects to a certificate being ordered, asserting as a ground of objection, and adducing evidence thereon, that the claimants have not acquired rights by conquest—that the original occupants have never been dispossessed—that the latter were the rightful owners of the land up to the period of its cession by them to the Crown; and further, that the claimants have not occupied more than a small portion of the block claimed. We have found it impossible to give a decision in this case without first determining an important question raised in the course of this investigation—that of the conflicting tribal claims asserted by the Ngatiraukawa on the one side and the Ngatiapa and Rangitane on the other, to the country lying between the Rangitikei and

* During one of the raids of the northern warriors, the natives then living near what is now known as Himatangi, fled before the invaders. Before leaving, the chief of the tribe directed his daughter Hima to hide a valuable greenstone mere. But when they returned to their home the girl searched in vain for the treasure, and womanlike began to cry, which caused her friends to ejaculate "Himatangi!"—Hima crying—hence the name.

Manawatu Rivers. We consider there is sufficient evidence before the Court to enable us to decide this question of tribal right, and by recording our decision on this point in the present judgment, we indicate a principle which may be conveniently and justly applied by this Court in dealing with other cases of claims in the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block, which have been, or may be, referred to it. Looking at the evidence, it is clear to us that before the period of the establishment of British Government, the Ngatiraukawa tribe had acquired and exercised the rights of ownership over the territory in question. The prominent part taken by this tribe in connection with the cession of the North Rangitikei and Ahuaturangi Blocks, the sale of the Awahou, and the history of the leases, prove also that those rights have been maintained up to the present time. On the other hand the evidence shows that the original owners were never absolutely dispossessed, and that they have never ceased on their part to assert and exercise rights of ownership. The fact established by the evidence is that the Ngatiapa-Rangitane, weakened by the Ngatitona invasion under Te Rauparaha, were compelled to share their territory with the principal allies, the Ngatiraukawa, and to acquiesce in a joint ownership. Our decision on this question of tribal right is that Ngatiraukawa and the original owners possessed equal interests in and rights over the land in question, at the time when the negotiations for the cession to the Crown of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block were entered upon. The tribal interests of Ngatiraukawa we consider vested in the section of the tribe which has been in actual occupation, to the exclusion of all others. It has been proved to the satisfaction of the Court that Parakaia and his co-claimants comprise the section of the Ngatiraukawa tribe which has acquired rights of occupation over the Himitungi Block. The tribal interest, therefore, rests solely with them. The claim preferred on behalf

of Ihakara and the Patukohura, founded on temporary occupation, we do not admit. A list of twenty-seven persons proved to be jointly interested with Parakaia before the Court. Two of these having signed the deed of cession cannot appear in this Court as claimants. The decision of the Court, therefore, is that Parakaia and his co-claimants are entitled to a certificate in their favour for one-half less 2-27ths of the block claimed, and an interlocutory order will be made by us in favour of the eight persons who have been named to the Court as representing the claimants.

This judgment, so far as it recognised the claims of the Ngatiapa tribe, pleased Dr. Featherston immensely, and in opening the sixteenth session of the Provincial Council on May 19th, 1868, he referred to it as a "triumphant vindication" of the course pursued by him. But he very severely censured the divisions made by the Court, characterising them as "illogical, inconsequential, and, in their practical operation, unjust." His contention was that only such portion of Himatangi as Parakaia and his people occupied should have been allotted to them, and that the remaining portion awarded to Ngatiraukawa should have been given to the whole tribe, three-fourths of whom, having signed the deed of sale, would have forfeited their share to the Crown. The judgment was even less pleasing to the native party, for the recognition of a joint ownership sapped the very foundations of their case, and when the

Court sat at Rangitikei for the purpose of hearing the other cases referred to it, Mr. Williams declined to appear, and the Court closed its session without adjudicating upon them.

Whatever were the views taken by the contending parties at the time, an impartial observer of the present day sees that the cardinal point upon which the judgment turned was a recognition of the Ngatiraukawa claims by conquest, qualified by the admission of co-equal rights on the part of Ngatiapa. But it may safely be asserted that such a principle is entirely without precedent, and contrary to all the native practice of dealing with their tribal territory. The Maoris of old were essentially a race of proud and independent spirit; they were by nature conquerors, and in their settlement of New Zealand they occupied isolated districts, which were regarded as exclusively for their own use and the use of their children after them. The dominion of each tribe was well and clearly defined, and any intrusion upon its boundaries was instantly regarded as an act of war which could be maintained only by the exercise of superior force. It is true there were alliances between tribes, but this was generally for some specific and temporary purpose, and was only a union of military

strength, and never a partnership in possessions. There was, in fact, nothing which the Maori regarded with such a jealous eye as the retention inviolate of his ancestral home, and where two distinct tribes were found living together, their relative positions were always those of conquerors on the one hand and slaves on the other. No instance can be quoted in which it was otherwise, because joint ownership was a class of tenure utterly foreign and repugnant to their whole system. Either, then, the Ngatiapa were living in a state of servitude under Ngatiraukawa at the date of the Treaty of Waitangi, or the reverse was the case, and if we refer again to the judgment of the Court, and consider "the prominent part taken by Ngatiraukawa in connection with the cession of the North Rangitikei and Ahuaturanga Blocks, the sale of the Awahou, and the history of the leases," it should not be difficult to say who were the masters and who the servants. The failure to recognise the enormous importance of separate tribal ownership led the Court into the very blunder which Mr. Fox, in his closing address, had warned them against, namely that of "splitting the difference," with the result that a species of title was created, based upon wrong principles, which was unjust to Ngatiraukawa, and gave but little satisfaction to those who, like Dr. Featherston, might have

some reason to regard it as "a triumphant vindication" of their conduct.

For many months this feeling of dissatisfaction kept the whole coast in a state of irritation and unrest, and many applications were made to have the whole principle reopened by the hearing of those claims which had been allowed to lapse through no fault of the claimants. At last the pressure became so great that the General Government, in 1869, consented to a further investigation. On this occasion the Court sat at Wellington. The Crown retained Sir James Prendergast, then Attorney-General, as its champion, and Mr. Travers appeared for the natives, the Judges being Chief Judge Fenton and Judge Maning, with whom Ihaia Wakamairu sat as Native Assessor. It will not be any more necessary now than formerly to review the story told of the coming, the conquests, and the generosity of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, or to detail the evidence adduced to show that their residence in the Manawatu had no significance but the friendly fusion and mutual absorption of two tribes. But it is perhaps material to mention that the Court, in its wisdom, saw fit to confine the source from which it was to derive its information to the members of the contending tribes, and to exclude all European testimony, which, under

the circumstances, would have been the more independent of the two. It is not for one moment suggested that the litigant parties should have been precluded from placing their views before the Court, but a moment's reflection will convince a thoughtful person that where hatred and animosity had been aroused to their highest pitch, what the one side asserted the other would assuredly contradict. Therefore the rational method of arriving at a right decision was to ascertain whether any evidence was obtainable less likely to be tainted by prejudice and personal interest. That there was an abundance of such evidence is notorious, for there were whalers, traders, missionaries, surveyors, and Government officials who had seen and knew the relations of the tribes prior to and immediately after colonisation, and who had absolutely no interest in misleading the Court. But the Judges declined to be guided by their dispassionate statements, and adopted a course which practically meant that the case would be decided in favour of the side which could bring the largest number of hardest-swearing witnesses.

With native evidence alone to guide them the Court came to conclusions diametrically opposed to those of their fellow-Judges who had sat at Otaki a little more than a year

before, and in their hostility to Ngatiraukawa even more disastrous. They found (1) that prior to 1840 the tribe had not acquired by conquest or occupation any rights over the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block. (2) That three *hapu* had, with the consent of Ngatiapa, become entitled to certain indefinite privileges; but that the Ngatiapa title had never been completely extinguished. The manner in which they arrived at this extraordinary decision is thus set out in the judgment of the Court, which was delivered by His Honor Judge Maning on 25th September, 1869:—

This is a claim made by a native named Akapita for himself and others to certain lands situated between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, and which has been referred to the Native Land Court by the Governor, under the provisions made to that effect by the "Native Lands Act, 1867." The claimants ground their title firstly on conquest, stating that the land in question was conquered from the Ngatiapa tribe, the original possessors, by the Ngatitōa tribe under their chief Te Rauparaha, who subsequently gave, or granted, this land to the Ngatiraukawa tribe, his allies, of which tribe the claimants are members; and secondly, failing the proof of the right by conquest, the claimants claim under any right which it may be proved the Ngatiraukawa tribe, or any sections or *hapu* of that tribe, may have acquired either by occupation or in any other manner. This claim by Akapita is opposed by the Crown, who have purchased from Ngatiapa, on the grounds that the original owners, the Ngatiapa, have never been conquered, and that the Ngatiraukawa as a tribe have not acquired any right or interest whatever in the land.

and, moreover, that the land claimed by Akapita is now the property of the Crown, having been legally purchased from the right owners. A great mass of evidence has been taken in this case, from which, after eliminating minor matters and everything which has no very important bearing on the matter for decision, the following facts appear to remain. Before the year 1818, and to that date or thereabouts, the Ngatiapa tribe were possessors of the land in question, its owners by Maori usage and custom, the land being part of the tribal territory or estate. On or about the above date the chief Rauparaha, with the fighting men of his tribe and a party of Ngapuhi warriors armed with fire-arms, left his settlement at Kawhia and marched to the south with the intention of acquiring by conquest a new territory for himself and tribe. In the course of this expedition he passed through the country of the Ngatiapa, remaining only long enough to ravage the country and drive back to the fastnesses of the mountains, the Ngatiapa, who with some parties of allies or kindred tribes, had attempted resistance, but were at that time obliged to retreat before an enemy armed with firearms. The invaders then passed on to the southward, and after a series of battles, onslaughts, stratagems, and incidents attendant on Maori warfare, but not necessary further to notice here, Te Rauparaha, with the assistance of his Ngapuhi allies, succeeded in possessing himself of a large territory to the north and south of Otaki, the former possessors of which he had defeated, killed, or driven off. After this inroad, in which Rauparaha had laid the foundation for a more permanent occupation and conquest, and being, therefore, as it would appear, desirous of collecting around him as many fighting men as possible—a great object of every native chief in those days of continual war and violence—he returned to Kawhia with the purpose of collecting the remainder of his tribe who had been left at Kawhia, and of inviting the whole tribe of

Ngatiraukawa to come and settle on the territory which he had then but partially conquered. It is to be noticed here that on the return of Rauparaha to Kawhia he was met by the chiefs of the Ngatiapa tribe on their own land, and that upon this occasion friendly relations and peace were established between them, he returning to them some prisoners he had taken in passing through their country when advancing to the southward; presents were also exchanged, and the nephew of Te Rauparaha, Te Rangihaeata, took to wife with all due formality a chieftainess of the Ngatiapa tribe called Pikinga, notwithstanding that she had been taken prisoner by himself on the occasion of the first inroad into the Ngatiapa country. After arriving at Kawhia the Ngapuhi returned to their own country, and need not be again mentioned, as they have not made any claim on account of their alliance with Te Rauparaha on the occasion of the first invasion. About a year after the return of Rauparaha to Kawhia he mustered his tribe and some other followers, and taking also the women and children, he again marched for the south, with the intention of permanently occupying and securing the conquest of the lands which up to this time he had merely overrun. The effect of the invitation by Te Rauparaha to the Ngatiraukawa tribe to come and settle on his newly-acquired lands was, that soon afterwards strong parties of Raukawa came from time to time to Kapiti, partly to examine the new country which had been offered to them, but chiefly, it would appear, moved by the reports which they had heard that gunpowder and firearms were procurable at the place from European traders who, about that time, had commenced a traffic for flax and other native produce. These parties of Raukawa, on their way south, in passing through the country of the Ngatiapa, killed or took prisoners any stragglers of the Ngatiapa or others whom they met with, and who had lingered behind in the vicinity of the war track, when the

prudent but brave war chief of the Ngatiapa had withdrawn the bulk of the tribe into the fastnesses of the country whilst these ruthless invaders passed through, being doubtless unwilling to attack the allies of Te Rauparaha, with whom he wisely made terms of peace and friendship. In passing through the country of the Ngatiapa these Raukawa parties also took a kind of *pro forma*, or nominal possession of the land, which, however, would be entirely invalid except as against parties of passing adventurers like themselves who might follow; because the Ngatiapa tribe, though weakened, remained still unconquered, and a considerable proportion of their military force still maintained their independence in the country under their chief Te Hakeke. But what was no doubt fully as much in favour of the Ngatiapa tribe, and which may probably have been the cause of their not having been eventually subjugated, was the fact already noticed, that Rauparaha on his return to the north, when he invited the Ngatiraukawa to come down, had made peace with the Ngatiapa, thereby waiving any rights he might have been supposed to claim over their lands; and indeed, from that time for a long period afterwards, friendly and confidential relations undoubtedly were maintained between Te Rauparaha and his tribe and the tribe of Ngatiapa—which were only broken off, more by accident than by design of either party, in consequence of a few men of the Ngatiapa having been killed in an attack made by Ngatitao and others on a fort belonging to the Rangitane tribe in which these Ngatiapa men happened to be staying at the time, and whose death was afterwards avenged by the Ngatiapa—after which peace was again established between them and Te Rauparaha and the Ngatitao tribe. To Europeans not much acquainted with the peculiarities of Maori thought and action, the destruction by these passing parties of Ngatiraukawa, of individuals of the Ngatiapa tribe—a tribe with whom Rauparaha

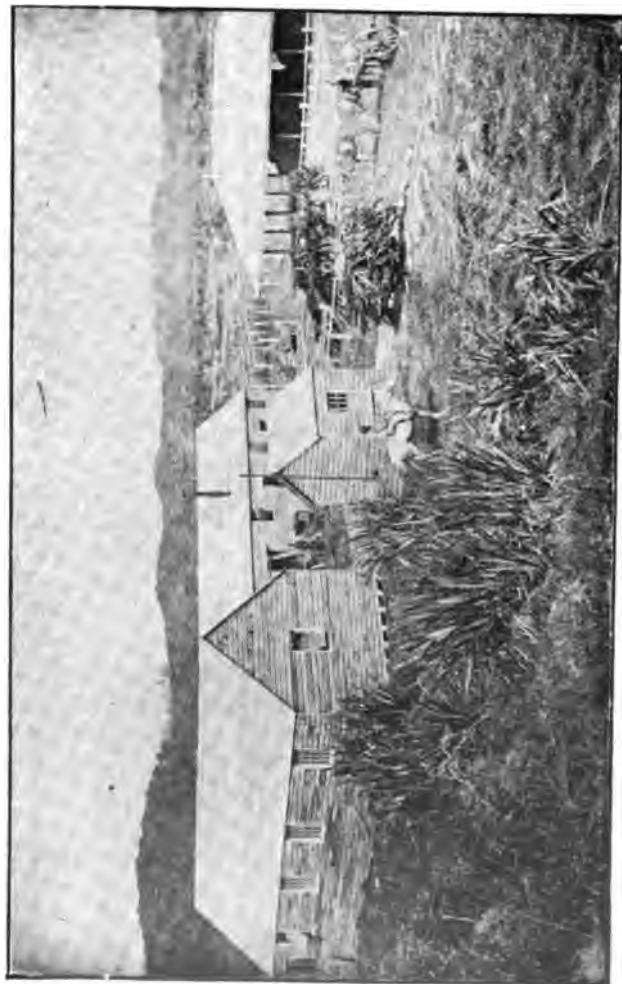
was then on peaceful and even friendly terms—their destruction by parties, who were not only also allies of Rauparaha, but who were then actually in expectation of receiving from him great benefits in the shape of grants of land, and above all the opportunity of trading for firearms, may appear a strange inconsistency, and not to be reconciled with the fact of the people so treated being in any other position than that of helpless subjection, and not—as has been seen—in alliance with the paramount chief, Rauparaha; but to those who know what the state of society (so to call it) was in those days, and have noted the practical consequences arising therefrom, this matter presents no difficulty. The Ngatiraukawa parties would, as a matter of course, act as they did without anticipating any reference whatever to the matter by Te Rauparaha, to whom they were bringing what he most wanted, a large accession of physical force, and who would not therefore have quarrelled with them at this time for such a small matter as the destruction of a few individuals, no matter who they were, provided they were not of his own particular tribe. It was the pride and pleasure of the Raukawa to hunt and kill all helpless stragglers whom they might fall in with on their march; it was customary under the circumstances, and being able also to do it with impunity, they were, according to the morality and policy of those times, quite within rule in doing so. As for the Ngatiapa tribe themselves, they would not at all blame the Ngatiraukawa in the sense of their having done anything wrong; being Maoris themselves they would appreciate the circumstances of the case, knowing that they themselves would have done the same if in the same position. They would also fully understand the reason why the paramount chief Rauparaha could not notice the matter, and that in fact the Ngatiraukawa had done nothing to be considered as wrong or out of order, but only something to be returned in kind and with

interest at some future day, provided that the Ngatiapa should ever be able, and that it would be good policy in them to do so when the opportunity offered. I have made these remarks, which are applicable to the actions and proceedings of all the different Raukawa parties when on their way south to join Te Rauparaha at Kapiti, for the purpose of showing that no acts of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, previous to the arrival of their whole force at Kapiti, whether by killing or enslaving individuals of the Ngatiapa, or by taking a merely formal possession of any of their lands, without halting or residing, did give them (the Ngatiraukawa) any rights of any kind whatever over the lands of the Ngatiapa tribes according to any Maori usage or custom. It should be noted here, that on the first coming of Rauparaha on his expedition of conquest, he found living amongst the Ngatiapa, a party of Rangitane, a tribe whose proper tribal lands were adjacent to, but distinct from those of the Ngatiapa. These people, upon the second coming of Rauparaha on his return from the north, were still there, and they, in confederation with some other people of the Mnaupoko tribe, did, by means of a treacherous stratagem, very nearly succeed in killing Te Rauparaha, who barely escaped by flight, leaving four of his children, and all, or very nearly all of his companions, dead at the place where they were attacked. This affair occurred after Te Rauparaha had made peace formally with the Ngatiapa tribe, who, it is in evidence, had warned him against the treacherous design of the Rangitane and others; notwithstanding which the Rangitane very nearly succeeded in ridding themselves of the most dangerous of all their enemies, Rauparaha—famous himself for wiles and stratagems—and who, it is pertinent to the matter in hand to remark, either conquered by force, or made tools of by policy, or destroyed by treachery, almost everyone he came into contact with. The Ngapuhi warriors, strong in warlike

ability, doubly strong in being armed with fire-arms, he made use of to conquer for him a great territory, and then dismissed them, paying them for their great services with friendly flattering words, a few prisoners, and some insignificant presents. The Ngatiapa he spared and made friends with, and even allowed to purchase fire-arms at Kapiti, evidently with the purpose of using this tribe as a check upon his friends the Ngatiraukawa, who were much superior to his own tribe in numbers, and who in their turn were to be pitted against the numerous enemies by whom he was surrounded, and who had become so in consequence of his recent conquests. The effect, however, of the nearly successful attempt by the Rangitane, as regarded themselves, was to prevent Te Rauparaha from extending to them the same favourable consideration which he had done to the Ngatiapa, and to cause him to pursue them with persistent and vindictive warfare, slaughtering a great proportion of their fighting men, breaking their military force, and driving them from place to place whenever opportunity offered, during which operations we lose sight of them on this block; and when we afterwards find a small company of people called "Rangitane" settled unopposed and apparently in a permanent manner at Puketotara, just within the country of the Ngatiapa, and not far from the boundary of the proper tribal estate of the Rangitane tribe, we find on investigation that these people are called "half-castes" or children of inter-marriages between members of the Ngatiapa and Rangitane tribes, and who, there is no doubt, owed their undisturbed possession to their Ngatiapa blood. I am therefore of opinion that in the decision to be given as to the ownership of the whole block, these people holding land within the Ngatiapa boundaries by virtue of their Ngatiapa blood, and for that reason unopposed by the Ngatiapa, should be held to be members of the Ngatiapa tribe, and have all the rights which may accrue to them from that position, and that

when the Ngatiapa tribe is spoken of for the purpose of the decision in this case it shall be understood to include these Rangitane half-castes. For the sake of brevity and perspicuity, I have avoided as much as possible recurring to many minute circumstances, seeing that the questions under consideration can be decided, as far as the Court can decide them, on the evidence adduced, on broader considerations, which are more easily understood. I now therefore pass at once to the time, about the year 1829, when we at last find the whole emigration of the Ngatiraukawa tribe arrived and settled about Kapiti, Waikanae, and the immediately adjacent country. The whole Ngatiraukawa emigration having arrived, it appears that they did not immediately disperse themselves over the conquered country, but remained for about three years in the vicinity of Otaki, Waikanae, and Kapiti, where they employed themselves in manufacturing flax and producing other commodities for sale to the European traders for gunpowder and fire-arms, without which they could not count on being able to establish themselves on their allotted lands; but, having at last accomplished this object, the different sections of the tribe separated, and each section went to, and took possession of, and settled on, that particular portion or district of the conquered country which had been granted or allotted to them by the paramount chief Rauparaha. During the above period of time, between the arrival of the Ngatiraukawa tribe and its final occupation in sections of the different districts allotted to them, it appears that the Ngatiapa had also, with the full consent of Rauparaha, and the active assistance of the chief Rangihaeata, made the most of the time in arming themselves with fire-arms, which, it would appear, they succeeded in doing to fully as great an extent as their means of purchasing allowed, and probably to fully as great an extent as the Ngatiraukawa had been able to do. This fact has a very significant though indirect

bearing on the questions at issue, as it seems evident that had Rauparaha intended to depress or subjugate the Ngatiapa tribe, he would on no account have allowed or offered facilities to their war chief Hakeke in coming to Kapiti with parties of his young men to procure those arms, which, were it not for the friendly relations subsisting between them, would have made the Ngatiapa formidable even to Te Rauparaha himself. The policy, however, of Te Rauparaha was evidently, from the beginning, after having made the Ngatiapa feel his power, to elevate and strengthen them as a check on his almost too numerous friends the Ngatiraukawa, whom, were it not that they were bound to him by a great common danger, created by himself in placing them on lately conquered lands, he would never have trusted. He has also evidently had the intention, and succeeded in it, after having made peace with his enemies in the south who were not likely to attack him again, of setting up both tribes, Ngatiraukawa and Ngatiapa, as a barrier against his far more dangerous enemies in the north. There, however, is no evidence at all to show that Rauparaha, in granting or allotting lands to the different sections of the Ngatiraukawa tribe, did ever give or grant to them any lands within the boundaries of the Ngatiapa possessions, between the rivers Rangitikei and Manawatu, or elsewhere; to have done which would have been clearly inconsistent with the relations then subsisting between himself and the Ngatiapa tribe, over whose lands he had never claimed or exercised the rights of a conqueror; and, moreover, the Ngatiapa, a fierce and sturdy race, were on the land, no longer unarmed but well provided with those weapons, the want of which had, on the occasion of the first invasion, reduced their warriors to seek reluctantly the shelter of the mountain or the forest. It is, however, sufficient that we have the fact that, influenced by whatever motives, Te Rauparaha did not at any time give or grant lands of the Ngatiapa



FIRST FLAXMILL IN MANAWATU.



LAST MAORI FEAST IN PALMERSTON NORTH.

estate, between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, to the Ngatiraukawa tribe, nor is there any evidence to show that he had ever acquired the right to do so. It is, however, a fact that soon after the year 1835, we find three distinct *hapu* of the Ngatiraukawa tribe settled peaceably and permanently on the Ngatiapa lands, between the Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers, unopposed by the Ngatiapa, on terms of perfect friendship and alliance with them, claiming rights of ownership over the lands they occupied, and exercising those rights, sometimes independently of the Ngatiapa, and sometimes conjointly with them; joining with the Ngatiapa in petty war expeditions, "eating out of the same basket," "sleeping in the same bed," as some of the witnesses say, and quarrelling with each other, and on the only occasion on which the disagreement resulted in the loss of one life, making peace with each other like persons who, depending much on each other's support, cannot afford to carry hostilities against each other to extremity, and who therefore submit to the first politic proposals of their chiefs for an accommodation. Upon investigation of the causes which brought about this state of things, with the view of ascertaining what was the real status or position of the three Raukawa *hapu* on the land, we find that they did not make their settlement on the lands of the Ngatiapa by virtue of any claim of conquest, or any grant from Rauparaha, or by any act or demonstration of warlike powers by themselves; but it is in evidence, which from all the surrounding circumstances seems perfectly credible, that two at least of the Raukawa *hapu*, namely, Ngatiparewahawaha and Ngatikahoro, were very simply invited to come by the Ngatiapa themselves, and were placed by them in a position which, by undoubted Maori usage, entailed upon the incomers very important rights, though not the rights of conquerors. The third *hapu*, the Ngatikauwhata, appears to have come in under slightly different circumstances. The lands

allotted to them by Rauparaha were on the south side of the Manawatu River, the lands of the Ngatiapa were on the north, and to quote the very apt expression of one of the witnesses, "they stretched the grant of Rauparaha and came over the river"; the facts appearing in reality to have been that they made a quiet intrusion on to the lands of the Ngatiapa, but offering no violence, lest by so doing they should offend Rauparaha, as, under the then existing established relations between the tribes, to do so would have been a very different affair from the killing of the stragglers they met with several years before on the occasion of their first coming into the country. The Ngatiapa, on their part, for very similar reasons, did not oppose the intrusion, but making a virtue of what, apparently, seemed very like a necessity, they bade the Ngatikauwhata welcome, and soon entered into the same relations of friendship and alliance with them which they had entered into with the other two sections of Raukawa. That this was the true state of the case seems very certain, for in those times of rapine, violence, and war, when men could only preserve their lives and the trifling amount of prosperity which under such a state of things could exist, by a constant exhibition of military strength, it is well known to the Court that all chiefs of tribes, and all tribes, particularly such as were, like the Ngatiapa, not very numerous, were at all times eager, by any means, to increase their numerical strength; and that, much as they valued their lands, they valued fighting men more, and were at all times ready and willing to barter a part of their territorial possessions for an accession of strength, and to welcome and endow with land parties of warlike adventurers like the Ngati-raukawa, who would, for the sake of those lands, enter into alliance with them, and make common cause in defending their mutual possessions. In exactly this position we find these three Raukawa *hapu*, in a position which gives them (by Maori custom) well known and

recognised rights in the soil. Those who, living on the soil, have assisted in defending it—who, making a settlement, either invited or unopposed by the original owners, have afterwards entered into alliance with them and performed the duties of allies—acquire the status and rights of ownership, more or less precise or extensive, according to the circumstances of the first settlement, and to what the subsequent events may have been. But be the motives of the Ngatiapa whatever they were, for inviting or not opposing the settlement of these three Raukawa *hapu*, the fact remains that we find them in a position, and doing acts, giving them or proving that they had acquired, according to Maori usage and custom, rights which the Court recognises by this judgment: that is to say, firstly, that the three Ngatiraukawa *hapu*—called respectively Ngatikahoro, Ngatiparewahawaha, and Ngatikauwhata—have acquired rights which constitute them owners, according to Maori usage and custom, along with the Ngatiapa tribe in the block of land, the right to which has been the subject of this investigation. Secondly, that the quantity and situation of the land to which the individuals of the above-named Ngatiraukawa sections who have not sold or transferred their rights are entitled, and the conditions of its tenure are described in the accompanying schedule. And the Court finds also that the Ngatiraukawa tribe has not, as a tribe, acquired any right, title, interest or authority in or over the block of land which has been the subject of this investigation.

In commenting upon this judgment, which for ever shattered the hopes of the Ngatiraukawa, it is natural to hesitate before even suggesting that the Judges were actuated by any motive other than the strict discharge of their judicial duty, but there are certain signs

and circumstances attending it which at least lend the appearance of partiality, even if they do not prove it. The very language of the judgment is in parts ill-chosen and inconsistent, if not actually biassed, for it is impossible to avoid contrasting the terms used to describe the two litigant tribes. Thus the Ngatiapa, who invariably fled to the mountain fastnesses upon the approach of the Ngatiraukawa war parties, are pictured as "prudent but brave," while "these ruthless invaders," whose "pride and pleasure it was to hunt and kill all helpless stragglers," is the best the Judges can say for the people who stayed the anger of Te Rauparaha, and who cried, "Cease to kill, let the remnant be saved." These may be nothing more than ill-considered phrases which have crept into the judgment, but they might also be the unconscious expression of party leanings—in neither case, however, are they in agreement with the verdict of history.

Not less inconsistent is the reference to the difficulty which the Judges allege Te Rauparaha had created for himself by placing the Ngatiraukawa "on lately conquered lands," if, as they say, that chief never conquered the country, or never gave or granted Ngatiraukawa any lands within the boundaries of the Ngatiapa possessions,

or if that tribe had not acquired any right, title, interest, or authority in or over the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block. But even if it be admitted that all this is capable of explanation, a reason has yet to be found for the exclusion of the independent testimony which Mr. Travers desired to adduce as evidence of the Ngatiraukawa's undisputed possession of the country prior to the time when, according to Parakaia's petition to the Queen, her authority "alighted justly and peacefully upon New Zealand, through the Treaty of Waitangi." Had the Court consented to hear, amongst others, Archdeacon Hadfield, he could have told how when he came to the coast in 1839,

The Ngatiraukawa were then in undisputed possession of the district. The previous owners, the Ngatiapa, had been conquered by them, and were held in a state of subjection, some being actually in slavery at Otaki and Kapiti, others resided on the land as serfs, employed in pig hunting and such like occupations. They had ceased to be a tribe. They had no organisation, no rights. Even that portion of the tribe which lived between Rangitikei and Whanganui was in a state of degradation. It was without *mana*. There would have been then no room for questioning the title of Ngatiraukawa. It was a self-evident fact that they were in undisputed occupation.

A reference to the reports of Colonel Wakefield to the Directors of the New Zealand Company would have shown what importance

he attached to the necessity of negotiating with the Ngatiraukawa for the purchase of land between Horowhenua and Whanganui, and Mr. Amos Burr could have explained that he was sent by Colonel Wakefield to ascertain to what tribe, or tribes, the country belonged between Horowhenua Lake and Rangitikei River, and that upon his return to Wellington he wrote to Colonel Wakefield informing him that

If he wished to purchase that land he would have to purchase it from Ngatiraukawa, as it belonged to them.

In connection with Mr. Spain's investigations into some of Colonel Wakefield's alleged purchases, we find that the only question he had to decide was whether Ngatiraukawa had or had not sold the land, and in defining the area to which his enquiry related, he says:—

Burr further states that the lands alleged to have been transferred on that occasion, were comprised within lines drawn due east to the hills from the mouths of the Rivers Rangitikei and Horowhenua.

No mention, however, is made of either Ngatiapa, Rangitane, or Muaupoko; the only sellers whom Mr. Spain recognised were the Ngatiraukawa. Had the Court been willing to hear them, there were also whalers and traders who could have told how on one occasion the Ngatiraukawa had imposed a *tapu* upon the beach from Otaki to Rangitikei,

preventing all intercourse between the settlements by that route for many months, thus proving their undoubted jurisdiction over it, for no tribe could ever establish a better title than their ability to enforce this sacred rite.

But in addition to this personal testimony there was a large amount of documentary evidence which would at least have supported the statements of those individuals who were called. Reference has already been made to the fact that in his travels up and down the coast, Mr. Jerningham Wakefield scarcely ever came into contact with a Ngatiapa chief, his intercourse being entirely with the leaders of the Ngatiraukawa. But in one portion of his entertaining narrative he makes specific reference to meeting some Ngatiapa people near the Oroua River, and this is the picture which he has handed down to posterity :—

At the edge of the wood we found a family which was catching eels in a creek close by. They were one of the aboriginal tribes, a remnant of the few natives left in tributary freedom after Rauparaha's invasion.

In the year 1844 Mr. C. H. Kettle, who was one of the first surveyors to come into the district, gave evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons set up to enquire into New Zealand affairs, during the course of which he stated most emphatically that the original tribes had been reduced from

hundreds to a mere handful, and that afterwards the Ngatiraukawa had liberated them from slavery, and allowed them to live in their midst.

When forwarding the Ngatiraukawa petitions to the Queen in 1867, the Hon. J. C. Richmond accompanied them with a memo. setting out his own views upon the native requests, and in stating the position, he says :

An invading tribe—the Ngatiraukawa—took possession, in about 1830, of a large tract of country between Wellington and Whanganui, driving out the tribes which before inhabited it. After some years of slaughter and violence the Ngatiapa and Rangitane were suffered by the conquerors to return. They came back as slaves, but gradually resumed more and more of equality with the conquerors, intermarried with them, and cultivated the land.

Equally is this view borne out by Mr. James Grindell, of the Native Land Purchase Department, who in a report dated 12th July, 1858, says :—

When the Ngatiraukawa first established themselves in the country, each division of the tribe claimed and took formal possession of certain tracts as their share of the conquest; of which they forthwith became the sole possessors, and of which they ever afterwards retained possession, but now when the idea of selling the land is gaining ground amongst them, the opponents of such a step, for the first time, assert that the country is common property.

Mr. H. Tacy Kemp, who was Native Secretary in 1850, is not less emphatic than Mr.

Grindell in his delineation of the strength of the Ngatiraukawa and the weakness of the Ngatiapa, for in writing from Rangitikei in March of that year, he says of the former that "they are the most powerful tribe in Cook's Strait, and number about 1200 fighting men," while of the latter his description is by no means so flattering.

The Ngatiapa are a remnant of the original people, and have held but little intercourse with Europeans. They are still rude and uncivilised, and look with a jealous eye on their old conquerors, the Ngatiraukawa, by whom they were recently permitted to sell land on the north side of the Rangitikei River. The whole of the Ngatiapa scarcely amount to more than 300 souls, for whom a sufficiency of land has been reserved.

These instances of the way in which the relative positions of the two tribes impressed the lay and official mind might be multiplied indefinitely, but that would only prove a vain expenditure of labour if what has already been stated fails to convince the impartial mind, as they must have convinced the Judges had they consented to hear them. It is only necessary now to state that in prosecuting their cause the Ngatiraukawa had not merely the Ngatiapa tribe arrayed against them, but whatever influence the Governor, the Government, and the Superintendent could exercise was exerted in sustaining the Crown's claim. Indeed, there is such a remarkable similarity

between the decision of the Judges and the views of the Superintendent, that any one might well be pardoned for suspecting that such unanimity arose from something more than mere coincidence. In a speech which he delivered to the Provincial Council on 22nd November, 1869, the Superintendent drew pointed attention to the manner in which his actions had been sustained by the Court. After referring to the fact that the 5000 acres of the Himitangi Block given to Parakaia and his *hapus* by the Court at Otaki, had reverted to the Crown under the more recent decision of the Court, he proceeded to say :—

To show how complete is the vindication of the purchase, I would point out to you that not only are my published views as to the tribal and territorial status of the Ngatiapa confirmed by the decision of the issues submitted to the Court, but that even in the details of my proposed arrangements with the Ngatiraukawa the Court has completely endorsed the fairness of my proposals. As I have previously informed the Council, there was a small number of *bona fide* Ngatiraukawa dissentients to whom I considered it necessary to make an award in land. To these non-sellers I proposed giving 6000 acres in full satisfaction of their claims, and it is a significant fact that this is the exact aggregate quantity awarded by the Court to the several sections of the Ngatiraukawa claimants. Apart from this I may mention that out of over a thousand claimants only 62 were admitted by the Court, that being the exact number of recognised dissentient claimants whose names were on a previous occasion laid before you. I need hardly assure you that it is very gratifying to me personally to

find the whole of my views upheld by the highest Native tribunal.

After perusing this speech, it only remains for each reader to determine in his own mind whether Dr. Featherston has not proved too much, and whether the judgment of the Court was not framed with a greater regard for his wishes than for the merits of the case.

As a result of these legal—or, shall we say, judicial—proceedings, the Ngatiraukawa tribe was now reduced to the occupation of the district between the Manawatu River on the north and the Kukutauaki Stream on the south, and known as the Kukutauaki Block, which included the whole of the fertile country around Lake Horowhenua, where Te Whatanui, the brave in battle, yet gentle in spirit, had spread the mantle of protection over the supplicating remnant of the original people. After having ceded to the Ngatiapa the Upper Rangitikei Block, and given Ahuaturanga back to the Rangitane; after being coerced into the sale of Manawatu by the impounding of their rents and their own scrupulous regard for the preservation of peace, it might have been thought that the avarice of their enemies, and the omnivorous appetite of the Government, would have been satisfied to allow them to keep Horowhenua as a home for themselves and their children. But the Ngatiraukawa

cup of bitterness was not yet full, for "Governor" Hunia, and perhaps those Europeans behind him, were shrewd enough to see that if the Ngatiraukawa had not acquired a right by conquest over the Manawatu, they could lay no better claim to Horowhenua, where a few Muaupoko still lived. If, as Judge Fenton remarked to Mr. Travers, the weakness of his case was that the Ngatiraukawa had not killed and eaten all the Ngatiapa, they had been guilty of an equal oversight at Horowhenua, and encouraged by their previous success "Governor" Hunia* and Major Kemp were not long in turning this mistaken leniency to their own account by setting up, on behalf of five tribes, claims to the territory which for years had been regarded by both Europeans and Maoris as the domain of Te Whatanui and his descendants.

The tribes who now alleged ownership to the Kukutauaki Block were the Whanganui, Ngatiapa, Rangitane, Muaupoko, and Ngatikahungunu, and their claims were based upon the assertion that they had inherited the land from their ancestors, and still retained it in their own possession. The audacity of this latter contention is almost humourous in its

* Major Kemp would claim as a Muaupoko, his father having belonged to that tribe, although his mother was a Ngatiapa woman. Hunia would claim for the opposite reason.

presumption,* for if there could ever have been any doubt as to the completeness of Te Rauparaha's conquest in the Manawatu, and further north, there could never be the slightest room to question its thoroughness at Horowhenua. The Muaupoko tribe were less protected from his anger by distance and natural difficulties, and by reason of their treacherous stratagems they had made his heart especially "dark" towards them, so that we are told when they threw themselves upon the mercy of Te Whatanui, "they came down from the hills like dogs, and if they had been seen they would have been killed." But there is no need to go to Maori testimony for a proof of Muaupoko subjection, for fortunately two Europeans of undoubted integrity have left on record their impressions of what they saw in the year 1840, and their words bear out the statement that "it was only when the gospel came that these people began to lift up their heads and exalt themselves."

Passing reference has already been made to the evidence given in 1844 by Mr. C. H. Kettle, before a Committee of the House of

* A Ngatiawa chief, Tamihana Te Neke, who subsequently became a native teacher, thus describes the position of affairs upon the advent of a large party of Ngatiawa in 1827:—"When that party arrived there were no people dwelling on this coast, only shags and sea-gulls on the sea-beach. The remnant of the inhabitants had fled to the mountains. That party came to Waikanae, they returned and occupied the coast because it was clear, those of the former inhabitants, who had escaped, having fled to the forests."

Commons, but it is fitting that we should here quote more fully the precise language in which he conveyed to his examiners the information he had gleaned while engaged in the survey of the district. In answer to a question relative to these lands, "To whom does that belong?" he replied:—

To Ngatiraukawa. It was taken by Rauparaha and Rangihaeata from three tribes who had possession of the river. They killed nearly the whole of these people, and when they got tired of eating human flesh they gave the land to Whatanui. This country is now claimed by him, and Rangihaeata and Rauparaha do not claim it at all.

When was it that these two chiefs murdered the original possessors of the land?

Thirty or forty years ago. One tribe was about 300 strong, now there are only 30 left; there was another 200 strong, and only 20 are left.

Were they made slaves after the battle?

For a short time they were slaves when Rauparaha had the land; but when Whatanui had the land he set them at liberty.

Is the last-named chief the person now claiming the land?

Yes.

He set at liberty those who were slaves before?

Yes.

And they live together?

Yes.

In contrast with the prosaic surroundings of a Parliamentary Committee may be taken a word picture delineated by one of the most

graphic writers whose pen was ever inspired by the romantic history of the colony, and from his description we can compare the peaceful aspect of affairs under Te Whatanui with the turbulent times created by the revengeful spirit of Te Rauparaha. Mr. Jerningham Wakefield had gone to Horowhenua, accompanied by a Ngatiawa chief named Te Kuru Kanga, who had especially distinguished himself by bravery and brilliant generalship in the battle of Waikanae, the last domestic struggle which had taken place between these allied tribes. In consequence of this there was some doubt as to how they would be received, but the writer of the entertaining "Adventures" states that he was much struck with the honourable greeting which Whatanui gave to his former enemy, and then we have this interesting portrayal of the good chief's character, who, he tells us, was not only a renowned leader in war, but also enjoyed the reputation of great mildness and justice.

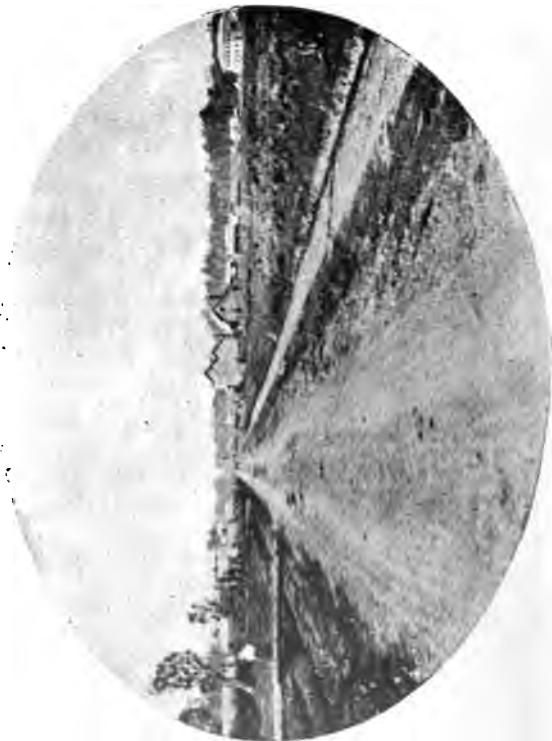
Whatanui was, perhaps, one of the native chiefs who best appreciated the value of the white man's presence and brotherhood. He had adopted the Christian faith very warmly; but without in the least injuring his authority, for either he himself or his second son always read the prayers and enforced the performance of the Christian observances. He had always adopted a great degree of civilisation. His houses were always kept scrupulously clean, he and all

his family always wore clean clothes, and washed with soap in the stream every morning; the cooking was attended to with great care, and the food was always served up on carefully scrubbed tin plates. In short, whenever I spent an hour at this little village, I felt that it was the residence of a gentleman. There was a quiet unobtrusive dignity in the well-regulated arrangements of the whole establishment. The slaves did their work without orders and without squabbling; a harsh word was hardly ever heard. Everyone vied in a tacit wish that the old gentleman should be comfortable; and it was pleasing to see him sitting in his house almost always surrounded by some of his family—the men all well shaved and combed—the women in clean frocks and blankets, busy at some sewing or other work; while his son or his daughter-in-law would be kindly teaching him to write on a slate. I remember how proud he was when he could write his name, and with what genuine kindness he pointed out his son Tommy's wife as having succeeded in teaching him. The family of Whatanui, so united and homely, was indeed a notable instance of the success of Mr. Hadfield's sweet and gentle teaching. No one could avoid feeling emulous of the praiseworthy qualities which had enabled him to effect such an end.

It is only necessary to read such a disinterested eulogium in order to believe that the Muaupoko slave spoke truly when he told the Rev. Samuel Williams that "It was not the missionaries, but Te Whatanui who first brought to us glad tidings of salvation. Te Rauparaha would have killed us all, but Te Whatanui protected and saved us; that old man must have seen Jesus Christ, he was to us so good and kind." Yet it appears that by



THE SQUARE, FEILDING, 1874.



KIMBOLTON ROAD, FEILDING, 1874.

emulating the precepts of the gentle Nazarene, Te Whatanui committed a fatal blunder, for had he not "saved Muaupoko from the ovens of Te Rauparaha," had he rooted them out as "weeds of the field," had he not summoned them to come down from the trees upon the mountains, to "come out and occupy places where men do dwell," had he not given them land to live upon—his generosity could never have been turned as a weapon upon his descendants, and his humanity made an excuse for disinheriting his tribe.

But the previous decisions of the Native Land Court had made these Christian acts such vulnerable points in the Ngatiraukawa defence that they could scarcely escape the keen eye of their ancient enemies. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that almost immediately after the Court had declared that Ngatiraukawa had acquired no right or title over Manawatu, "Governor" Hunia and Major Kemp made their appearance at Horowhenua, loudly proclaiming that the land was theirs. In the following year their tactics became still more aggressive, for they carried their invasion so far as to build a large house called *Kupe* on what had hitherto been regarded as Ngatiraukawa land.* The people

* A particularly irritating feature of this act was that the house was built near the spot where Tauteka, the wife of old Te Whatanui, lay buried.

who for forty years had been the acknowledged lords of the soil now became alarmed at the lengths to which Hunia was carrying his crusade against them, and it was finally agreed that the question of title should be referred to a number of representative chiefs, who were to settle the dispute by arbitration.

This *runanga* conceded something to the clamorous demands of Hunia, and brought the Muaupoko boundary up to a line parallel with the house *Kupe*, a decision which appeared to give general satisfaction to the majority of the Muaupoko tribe, but not to Hunia. If there was anything in the judgment morally binding upon him, it did not take him long to forget it, for scarcely had twelve months passed by before he returned at the head of a band of his own people, armed, and fully prepared to assert their rights by force. He commenced operations by building a fighting *pa*, and having once entrenched himself he followed it up by burning a house, beating and ill-treating an old woman, pulling down the fences around the enclosures, and destroying crops. These breaches of the peace provoked no reprisals* on the part of the Ngatiraukawa, well merited though they were, but the tribe strongly protested to the

* "That Ngatiapa is much better armed than Ngatiraukawa, added to the wish of the latter to keep the peace, and trust to the law alone for protection, has been the cause of their remaining passive under the great provocation they have received."—Extract from a letter by Major Edwards to Hon. D. McLean.

Government of the day, and demanded a constitutional enquiry into Hunia's behaviour, a demand which was practically ignored, for beyond sending Major Edwards "to report," no steps were taken to make Hunia and Kemp answerable for their unlawful acts.

As the Government showed little disposition to maintain the peace, and as matters gradually approached breaking tension, Ngatiraukawa at length yielded to the persuasions of Major Edwards, and applied to the Native Land Court for a ratification of their title. The hearing took place at Foxton, before Judges Rogan and Smith, and if contemporary reports may be believed, Hunia and Kemp made themselves particularly obnoxious by their boisterous behaviour, openly declaring their intention to maintain their claims by force, if necessary. The first case investigated was that of the Kukutauaki Block, to which the Ngatiraukawa laid claim by virtue of conquest, and continuous occupation from a period anterior to the Treaty of Waitangi. This title was opposed by Major Kemp and Hunia on behalf of the five tribes already enumerated, and the evidence necessarily involved the old story of stress and struggle between the opposing people. After days of meandering through the by-ways of Maori history, the Court, consistently with its

judgment concerning Himatangi, found on 4th March, 1873 :—

That sections of the Ngatiraukawa tribe have acquired rights over the said block, which, according to Maori custom and usage, constitute them owners thereof (with certain exceptions) together with Ngatitoa and Ngatiawa, whose joint interest therein is admitted by the claimants.

That such rights were not acquired by conquest, but by occupation, with the acquiescence of the original owners.

That such rights had been completely established in the year 1840, at which date sections of the Ngatiraukawa were in undisputed possession of the said block of land, excepting only two portions thereof.

Neither the Ngatiapa, Whanganui, or Ngatikahungunu were found to have any direct tribal interest in the block, but with the Rangitane and Muaupoko the case was different. Of the land excepted from this judgment, one portion, situated on the banks of the Manawatu River, at Tuwhakatupua, was claimed by the Rangitane, who had their claim allowed by the Ngatiraukawa without bickering or dissent. The remaining portion was situate at Horowhenua, and included the whole of that block except the area which the Ngatiraukawa admitted Te Whatanui had handed back to the Muaupoko.

As the circumstances attending its occupation seemed to justify a special enquiry, this land was made the subject of a separate

investigation, and exactly a month after the Kukutauaki decision, the Court announced its judgment, during the course of which the Judges said :—

The claimants have brought forward evidence, and have sought to prove such an occupation of the land as would amount to a dispossession of the Muaupoko. We are unanimously of the opinion that the claimants (Ngatiraukawa) have failed to make out their case, and the judgment is therefore in favour of the counter claimants (Muaupoko). The claimants appear to rely principally on the residence of Te Whatanui at Horowhenua, and there can be no doubt that at the time when that chief took up his abode there, the Muaupoko were glad to avail themselves of the protection of a powerful Ngatiraukawa chief against Te Rauparaha, whose enmity they had incurred. It would appear that Te Whatanui took Muaupoko under his protection, and that he was looked up to as their chief, but it does not appear that the surrender of their land by the Muaupoko was ever stipulated as the price of that protection, or that it followed as a consequence of the relations which subsisted between that tribe and Te Whatanui. We find that Muaupoko was in possession of the land at Horowhenua when Te Whatanui went there, that they still occupy these lands, and that they have never been dispossessed of them. We find further that Te Whatanui acquired by gift from Muaupoko a portion of land at Raumatangi, and we consider that this claim at Horowhenua will be fairly and substantially recognised by marking off a block of 100 acres at that place for which a certificate of title may be ordered in favour of his representatives.

The effect of this judgment was to take from the Ngatiraukawa lands which they had

occupied and cultivated for a period longer than the oldest European inhabitant could remember, and to assess the value of Te Whatanui's services to humanity at one hundred acres of land, most of which was swamp and unfit for human habitation. The suggestion that a chief like Whatanui should have acquired by gift what he had the power to take would be ludicrous had it not proved so serious, for in those times of "rapine, violence, and war," when only a brave heart and the constant exertion of military strength could keep what had been won, it is manifestly apparent that if Whatanui was powerful enough to keep Te Rauparaha in check, it would not have required much effort on his part to dispose of what remained of the Muaupoko.

The Judges, however, thought otherwise. They apparently held, as Mr. Fox argued in 1869, that the only reason Te Rauparaha did not kill all the original inhabitants was because he could not. No allowance was made for the humane instincts of one who was noted "for his great mildness and justice," but because there was no evidence of a distinct bargain binding the Muaupoko to cede to Whatanui so much land for the privilege of being allowed to breathe their native air, the conquest which stands out as a great historical

fact was treated as a myth, and the Treaty of Waitangi, which guaranteed to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of the lands and estates which they held at that time, was cast to the four winds of Heaven.

The subsequent history of the Horowhenua Block, which is much too recent a matter of controversy to be included in this work, may be found by those desirous of perusing it, in the discussions which took place in Parliament on the Horowhenua Block Bill, 1895; the proceedings before the Native Affairs Committee, and the speech delivered by Sir Walter Buller when at the Bar of the House to answer a breach of privilege. (*See Appendix to Hansard, Vol. 91, 1895.*)

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLY DAYS.

Look now abroad—another race has filled
These populous borders—wide the wood recedes,
And towns shoot up, and fertile realms are tilled ;
The land is full of harvest and green meads ;
Streams numberless, that many a fountain feeds,
Shine, disembowered, and give to sun and breeze,
Their virgin waters ; the full region leads
New colonies forth, that toward the western seas
Spread, like a rapid flame, among the autumnal trees.

Although the natives were far from satisfied with the decisions of the Native Land Court referred to in the previous chapter, the manner in which the vast majority of them accepted the situation is a wonderful tribute to their law-abiding spirit. Here and there friction seemed imminent, and at one time it was feared that the provisions of the Disturbed Districts Act would have to be enforced, but beyond the arrest of a chief name Miritana and two of his followers, for refusing to allow the surveys to proceed, and the slaughter of some four hundred sheep

belonging to a settler—Mr. Gotty—nothing of any serious moment occurred to jeopardise the peaceful settlement of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block. This was further facilitated by the satisfactory apportionment of the impounded rents (amounting to £4699) amongst the contending tribes. Having failed to arrive at a mutual understanding amongst themselves, they appealed to Dr. Featherston to make such a division as to him seemed fair, pledging themselves severally to abide by his award. After an hour's consideration, the Superintendent decided that the three Ngati-raukawa *hapus* were entitled to £1600, the Rangitane tribe to £550,* and the Ngatiapa tribe to £2545.

The award gave general but not universal satisfaction. It was, however, loyally accepted by all the tribes, and thus closed the last cause of open rupture between them. Surveys were soon going on apace, and the settlement, which was to contribute so materially to the prosperity of the province, was set upon a satisfactory foundation. But the same favourable conditions did not prevail in other parts of the colony, for both north and south of the Manawatu there were wars and

* When Ngatiapa received the £15,000 as their share of the Rangitikei-Manawatu Block purchase money, they agreed to satisfy the Rangitane claims; but they did not do so, and £300 of the amount given to Rangitane out of the rents was to recoup them for what they ought to have received out of the purchase money.

rumours of wars with the natives, and towards the end of 1868 it seemed as if the "holy calm" which reigned along the river was to be broken by an invasion of the warriors from the north, and the fanatics from the south. The whole community was one day suddenly thrown into a state of intense excitement by the cry that the Hau Haus were upon them. This startling intelligence originated in the fact that a foreign pedlar passing along the beach at Ohau had been attacked so severely with a tomahawk that his life was despaired of. The wounded man managed to crawl to the accommodation house at the mouth of the Manawatu River, and there his depositions were taken by Mr Halcombe, but as he was almost in extremis through fear and pain his story only served to magnify the crime of an individual into a signal for attack upon the whole settlement. As the little township of Foxton would have had to bear the first shock of the assault, the excitement ran highest there, and, strange to say, was fired to even greater intensity by the arrival on the same day of a heated messenger, who rode in from the north with the news that Titokowaru had broken through the defences at Whanganui, and was sweeping down upon the southern settlements. Within a few hours afterwards intelligence reached the township of the horrible massacre perpetrated at

Poverty Bay by Te Kooti, and to the fevered minds of the inhabitants it appeared as though a whole cataclysm of blood had been let loose, which was certain to culminate in an irruption of remorseless warriors converging upon them from three separate points.

When the first shock of the panic had passed, and presence of mind began to return to some of the more energetic spirits, messengers were despatched into the bush to warn the outlying settlers of their danger and bring them into the town. Many of these lost no time in obeying the summons, but before doing so they turned their cattle loose; some buried their valuables; others hung their furniture in the trees; but a few stayed only long enough to lock the door, forgetting in their flurry to remove the key. The women and children in the township were mustered in hot haste and placed for safety in Liddell's iron store, which then stood conspicuously in the main street. What arms and ammunition* were available were then served out to those capable of using them, and preparations were made for a siege. Then, when everything was in readiness, it occurred to some one that galvanised iron walls were by no means a safe protection against leaden bullets—that, in fact, the

* A further supply of arms and ammunition was afterwards brought from Whanganui by Major Edwards and Mr John Kebbell.

huddling of women and children into such a place was equivalent to placing them in a death trap, and the moment the weakness of the position dawned upon the leaders, the more warlike policy of building a redoubt was decided upon.

The site for this fortification was chosen by Captain Jordan, a gentleman of some military experience, and the position selected was a ridge of sand overlooking the river and contiguous to the Rev. J. Duncan's house. On this hillock an army of willing workers laboured with spades and shovels digging and trenching, while others toiled away in the bush cutting white pine saplings, which were then brought to the scene of operations and set up as the pallisading of the fort, enclosing an area of comparatively small dimensions. This work naturally occupied several days, during which time the whole attention of the settlers had been absorbed in its completion. In fact, so engrossed had they been, that it had never occurred to them to enquire as to the whereabouts of the assailing force; but when the work was finished and they had time to look around them, they realised that the hostile natives had not arrived, nor were they yet in view. A few days longer, and they began to feel that perhaps the natives were not coming at all, and in the meantime

the women and children were not removed to the redoubt. When a week had passed, and there was still no sign of the enemy, the opinion began to gain ground that the settlers had been terrified by a false alarm.*

With the gradual restoration of confidence, the possibilities of the situation became much clearer to the less-agitated minds, and it was then seen that had the worst happened, their fortification would have been of but little value to them, for the Maoris needed only to surround it, and wait patiently for thirst to compel the surrender which their fusillades might not have induced. Whatever strategical advantages the position enjoyed, like the great *pā* which Titokowaru built and abandoned at Turangaika, it lacked the essential of a good water supply, and what was more, there was no possibility of getting water into it, except such moisture as might be extracted from a sand-hill. Fortunately the need to seek its protection did not occur, and as the fear of an attack died away, the settlers one by one began to return to their homes, which in every instance they found unharmed, and as they left them.

Up to the time when these pioneers arrived in the Upper Manawatu, there had of course

* The Rev. Mr. Duncan returned to Foxton from the Rangitikei while the work was in progress, and although he assured the people that there was no sign of a rising in the north they insisted upon going on with the redoubt.

been little or no interference with the natural conditions of the country, and as they first saw it, it was a truly typical New Zealand district. Between Foxton and what is now known as Oroua Bridge, the predominating feature of the landscape was a succession of sand-hills, which rose in long undulating ridges, like great billows of the sea. With rude regularity these grass-covered dunes pointed east and west, as indicating the direction of the winds which formed them. Here and there over the wide extent of country which they covered there grew in great luxuriance the manuka, *toe-toe*, and tussock, while between the sandy ridges there would sometimes nestle acres of rich soil, or perhaps a swampy marsh fringed with green rushes and *raupo*—greener by comparison with their grey surroundings—and filled with sombre-looking "Maori heads." These swamps were interlaced with narrow necks of dry land, along which a track had been worn by the Maoris, which formed the overland highway to the sea-port.

Immediately to the north of the Oroua* began the tall and stately forest, skirting the banks of the river to the eastward, and

* The meaning of the word Oroua is now completely obscure. It does not come into the nomenclature of Hau, as that *tohunga* only travelled along the coast, but it probably derives its origin in Maori mythology. The river was called by the surveyors of the New Zealand Company, the "Styx," but this name has never received popular acceptance, and is never heard of in the present day.

stretching in dense dark primeval growth away to the north. This forest was rich in all the most valuable of our timber trees, for pines, matais, and totaras reared their lordly heads in generous plenty amidst the vines and koromikos which formed an almost impenetrable network of underscrub. Only on one spot did these giants of the bush refuse to grow, and this was an area of about six hundred acres called by the natives Papaioea.* This flat was first known to Europeans about the year 1846, when it was discovered by Mr. Charles Hartley, who in one of his trading pilgrimages came up the river as far as Hokowhitu, where he heard from the natives that there was an extensive clearing not far off. With the instinct of the explorer, he pushed his way through the thickly-entangled fringe of forest until he broke in upon the wide stretch of open country somewhere near the site of the present Broad-street Methodist Church. Here the native who accompanied him built a Maori oven and cooked some food, while Mr. Hartley explored the further distances of his new-found land; and it is a

* The meaning now ascribed to this name by the Rangitane natives is reminiscent of the time when they were conquering the country. According to them *papai* implies exceedingly good; *oea* signifies the beauty which comes upon the water after the dead bodies of the enemy had been soaked in it. Thus it would appear to have been a custom with the Rangitane people to immerse the bodies of their victims in a pond before placing them in the *whata*, or storehouse, to make them *papai*, or tender to the touch, which operation had the effect of lending a halo, or luminous beauty to the water, and as this was a place where the dipping of bodies was practiced it became *papai-oea*.

singular coincidence that many years afterwards he purchased the section on which that meal was eaten, the singularity of the circumstance being considerably heightened by the fact that one day while digging in his garden he came upon a Maori oven which he believed to be the very one in which the meal had been cooked. Mr. Hartley lost no time in reporting his discovery to the proper officials, but it was not for many years that any practical use could be made of it.

So soon as the survey of the Ahuaturanga Block — in which the Papaioea flat was situated — was completed, in 1866-67, the sections were thrown open for selection, and were sold at the old Land Office, in Sydney Street, Wellington, the areas of the sections ranging from three acres up to 150, and in one instance even up to 334.*

The upset price placed upon the rural land was £1 per acre, except for such as lay along the Rangitikei Road, where £2 per acre was charged, under a system of deferred payments; while for town lots the price varied according to the situation.† From the southern boundary as far as Te Matai the sections sold very freely, but further on towards what was then

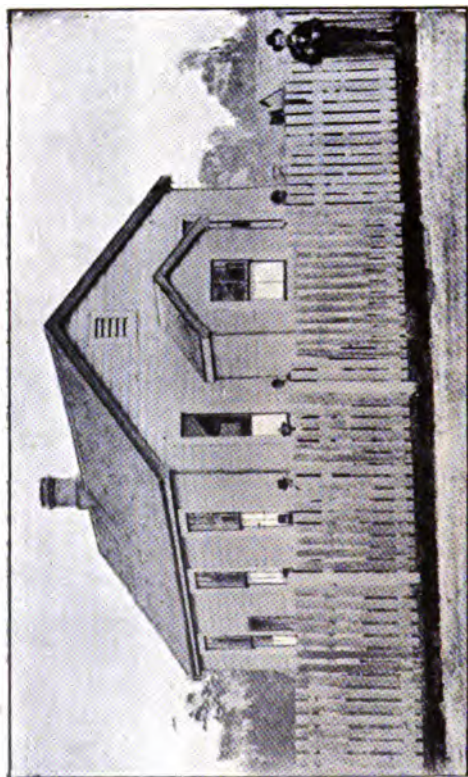
* Many of these sections were purchased with Volunteer script.

† For all corner sections of $\frac{1}{2}$ -acre each, on the Square, in Palmerston, the upset price was placed at £50 and £52, and others on the Square at £30 and £32. For $\frac{1}{2}$ -acre in Main and Broad streets, the upset price was £10.



PUBLIC SCHOOL, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.

This School stood on the site of the Empire Hotel.



COURT HOUSE PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.

called Raukawa, and is now known as Ashhurst, the conditions were less enticing, and consequently settlement showed a decided tendency to taper off as it approached the inland districts. Not that in any part it was numerically much to boast of, as may be judged from the following list of settlers,* who comprised the entire white population as late as 1868 :—

MANAWATU.

D. Rowland, M. Hamilton, R. Reardon, E. Reardon, M. Cullin, G. Mends, L. G. West, H. West, D. Monrad, John Munro, J. Sly, P. Stewart, W. Watson, G. T. McEwen, D. McEwen, H. McEwen, T. McEwen, A. McEwen, G. Brenner, J. Marshall, R. Stanley.

NGAWHAKARAU.

H. Eastman.

AWAPUNI.

P. Marshall.

FITZHERBERT.

H. Engels, C. Shute, A. Coborough.

RANGITIKEI LINE.

R. Ross.

TE MATAI.

J. T. Dalrymple.

RAUKAWA.

G. Richard (senr.), W. Waugh, A. Grammer, W. Cummings.

But few as these settlers were, their presence furnished undisputed evidence that progress was being made, and that the *pakeha* was steadily obtaining a footing on what had

* This census was taken by Mr. David McEwen.

hitherto been the land of the Rangitane. There was absolutely no friction of any kind with this tribe, who showed themselves most anxious to loyally abide by their bargain.

Amongst those who had purchased a home in the Manawatu at the first land sale was Mr. David McEwen, who had been a settler at the Hutt and for some time a member of the Provincial Council. His section was in the Karere district, and with characteristic energy he at once began the subjugation of the wilderness by felling a small patch of bush, and so making the first clearing between Oroua and Papaioea. Soon, however, other settlers followed his example, and then the need for proper lines of communication between the various homesteads became more and more apparent.

But beyond surveying the land and selling it at a handsome profit, the Provincial Government were for a time disposed to do little or nothing. They preferred to leave its development to private enterprise rather than make it a matter of public policy, and hence these early settlers had by no means a rosy experience until the Foxton line was cut, and a road was hewn through the bush as far as Awahuri.* The formation of these arterial

* Immediately after the Rangitikei Line was cut, an enormous growth of thistles sprang up in the roadway. The appearance of thistles is by no means an uncommon occurrence on newly-opened land in New Zealand, but in this case the crop was so phenomenal that it was with difficulty horsemen could force their way through it.

lines of road simplified the work of settlement considerably, as their existence helped to destroy the isolation which always exposed the far-away pioneers to the fear, if not the actual sufferance, of outrages by the natives ; they also enabled the settlers to carry on their primitive occupations in greater comfort. For a long time these occupations were very primitive indeed, for the market was limited ; the opportunities for trading were few, and the facilities for getting produce to and from the port were fewer still. Often it was impossible to get provisions from Foxton, and they were always liable to damage by the way ; so that the next meal was at times a very uncertain quantity.

This latter fact, combined with the general discomfort of an insufficient larder, determined Mr. McEwen to be self-reliant at least as far as breadstuffs were concerned. He there-upon decided to put some of his land in wheat, and his labours were blessed with an excellent crop. But the corn having been reaped and stored, there yet remained the important process of grinding, and, as there was, of course, no mill in the district, this involved the additional enterprise of importing one. Accordingly a levy was made upon the resources of Wellington, and a steel mill, driven by hand power, was purchased, and by this humble machine the flour for his own

and the neighbouring families was ground until the larger and more modern mill was built at Palmerston by Messrs. Richter and Nannestad.

Reference has already been made to the restricted nature of the people's employments, which, apart from the cultivation of their small plots of land and the rearing of a few cattle, was practically confined to the sawing and selling of timber, which grew in luxuriance on every hand. This latter became a matter not only of profit but of necessity, for the clearing of the land involved the sacrifice of the bush, and the first settler who began its preparation for market in a systematic way was Mr. David Watson, who held a section of several hundred acres at Longburn,* and whose house was the earliest there built. His method, however, was the old-fashioned pit-sawing, which was both slow and laborious, and it was left to Mr. Peter Manson to employ the steam mill, which he introduced in 1871, somewhere near the spot where now stands the railway engine sheds, and which he worked for many years to the mutual advantage of himself and the district.

One of the chief obstacles to the development of the timber industry in its earliest stages was the absence of adequate carriage

* This place is supposed to have derived its name from a particularly long burn which took place there when the bush was being cleared.

for the finished product. After the problem of roads had in a measure been solved, there still remained the fact that there were no drays or waggons, and on soft muddy tracks, freely besprinkled with stumps, sledges were out of the question. The story of the first dray introduced into the Manawatu should therefore prove interesting. The settler who was not cosmopolitan enough to turn his hand to any employment that might come in his way was not likely to succeed in holding his own, and as Mr. McEwen was made of the right stuff to be a success, he had taken a contract to box some drains for Mr. Kebbell on a section a few miles lower down the river. Together with his sons he proceeded to Terrace End* to cut the totara boards, for at that time the whole of the Terrace End flat was covered by this valuable timber. So soon as the requisite quantity was ready, the sawyers were then face to face with the question of haulage. In their dilemma a happy thought struck the elder pioneer. One of his neighbours, Mr. Sly, had some considerate friends in England who had sent him out a pair of wheels but no cart, and it occurred to Mr. McEwen that if he borrowed these wheels on condition that he built a body for them, the bargain would be a fair one, and would supply the wants of both parties. He

* This timber was cut on the site of the Princess Hotel.

accordingly submitted the proposal to Mr. Sly, who readily consented, and so the timber was carted on this half English, half Colonial dray, which thus became the first vehicle in the Upper Manawatu—surely a modest forerunner of the motor cars and traction trains of to-day.

It was not, however, only the absence of drays, but the impassable state of the few roads which made vehicular traffic unpopular, if not impossible, and, therefore, in 1870, the settlers conceived the idea of snagging the river as far as Ngawhakarau, so as to enable steamers of at least forty tons to trade to the Half Crown,* and thus obviate the peril of body and soul which the dangers and profanity of the journey to Foxton involved. From the "Half Crown" it was proposed to lay a light tramway as far as the contemplated township of Palmerston, at Papaioea, and a letter embodying these proposals was despatched to Mr. Halcombe, the Provincial Secretary, who displayed sufficient interest in the scheme to brave the inconvenience of a personal visit to the district and learn what he could of its merits on the spot. He also brought with him Mr. J.

* The precise origin of this term, which is now applied to a bend in the road near the Oroua Bridge, is involved in some doubt, many people believing that it is simply a short and easy way of pronouncing the native name Ngawhakarau, just as "Jackeytown" has been substituted for Tiakitahuna. I am, however, informed on very good authority, that it arose when the road was being made, from the fact that a black cook, who ran a sort of eating house for the men employed on the work, charged half-a-crown for every meal.—Author.

T. Stewart, the District Surveyor, and a gentleman named Chew, who was then a sawmiller at Porirua, and who was supposed to have some knowledge of trams and their construction. Mr. Chew was quite satisfied as to the practicability of the scheme, and suggested a simple form of construction which could have been carried out at a very moderate cost; but moderate as the estimate was—and it did not exceed £1000—the Secretary was compelled to admit that it was far beyond the resources of the Treasury,* and he could only give the settlers what vague comfort there was in the assurance that he would “keep it steadily in view.”

In course of time, however, things financial began to grow more prosperous, and in the following year it was rumoured in Wellington that the Government intended to give effect to Mr. Halcombe's recommendations, and build the Foxton tram. This intelligence immediately brought a number of new settlers to the district, amongst them being Mr. G. M. Snelson and Mr. James Linton. The former arrived in the month of December, 1870, and practically laid the foundation of Palmerston, by building the first store† on the western

* As an evidence of the shortness of the Provincial funds at this period, it may be stated that the men who were engaged on the formation of the roads were compelled to accept land in payment of their wages.

† This structure was covered with corrugated iron, and it stood on the section now occupied by Messrs O'Connor and Tydeman, and G. H. Scott. The materials of which it was built were afterwards employed in the construction of the first Royal Hotel.

side of what is now the Square. Mr. Linton, who arrived a few weeks after Mr. Snelson, settled at Terrace End, and signalled his arrival by building the first dwelling-house in the town. He and his wife had ridden from the Wairarapa, the former carrying a few necessities, and the latter their only child, their constant companions by the way being described in the characteristic language of Mr. Linton as "mud and misery."* The enterprise of Messrs. Snelson and Linton was soon emulated by Messrs. Benjamin Manson and Peter Stewart, who opened a butcher's shop, built of scrub, near the present railway station, and from this time forward the settlement on old Papaioea began to put on a town-like appearance.

As has already been stated, there was never any friction with the natives in the Manawatu, but other parts of the colony were still being kept in a state of ferment and fever, and consequently it was deemed prudent to make it obligatory upon all males over eighteen years of age to serve in the militia; and in 1869† this body was called out. Mr. John Kebbell was the captain of the corps, and Mr. Dalrymple its lieutenant, but in a district

* The first white woman to reside in Palmerston was Mrs. Cole, wife of the landlord of the Palmerston Hotel. Mrs. Linton was the second, and her eldest daughter was the first white child. When Mrs. Snelson arrived she landed from a Maori canoe at Hokowhitu, the journey up the river having occupied three days.

† In the same year Lady Bowen's Light Horse was raised. First officers: Captain, Albert Nicholson; Lieutenant, E. Beetham; Cornet, William Evans.

where everything was peaceful, this compulsory service was looked upon as a hardship, if not an injustice, for no one could see any point in turning out to drill when there were neither rifles to carry, nor an enemy to fight. Consequently, there was a good deal of grumbling, and ultimately the matter was placed before Mr. McEwen, who acted as a kind of "Father in Israel" to all and sundry, and he on looking into the question found that, while the militia were expected to do so much drill in the course of the year, the volunteers were not, and so he suggested the formation of a volunteer corps, which would give immunity from service to all who joined. The idea was readily taken up by a few, but there were not sufficient to entitle the company to a captain, and therefore beyond electing Mr. McEwen their lieutenant nothing was done. But by-and-bye the military ardour of some of the younger spirits prompted them to approach their officer with a suggestion that perhaps he might persuade the Government to serve out rifles to them, when the old gentleman metaphorically jumped down their throats by exclaiming in the accents of Caledonia, stern and wild: "Hoots, awa wi ye, man. Did I no mak volunteers o' ye 't stop ye dragging guns aboot? Awa wi ye! Awa wi ye!" After that, there was no

mention of the weapons for which there appeared so little need.

Although the Manawatu was still practically in the wilderness, the settlers managed to maintain some degree of communication with Wellington by means of a voluntary mail service which connected with the "Royal Mail" at Foxton. For a long time this Royal Mail was a very unpretentious affair, and was inaugurated by Major Kemp*, who, as a boy, carried letters between Wellington and Whanganui at a time when such a feat could only be accomplished at the greatest risk to his life. In this service he was succeeded, in 1844, by Mr Thomas Scott, who week in and week out walked along the beach road from Whanganui to Wellington. Except for the small "hookers" trading to Wellington this was the only postal service which the settlers in the Lower Manawatu had enjoyed for years, and when the upper districts had been settled the pioneers there used it as freely as circumstances permitted. Each family took it in turns to carry the weekly bundle of letters down to the port, and bring back the budget brought by the walking postman, or some recently-arrived schooner.†

* On one occasion when Major Kemp was being examined before a Royal Commission, he was twitted by one of the opposing lawyers with having been a post boy; whereupon the chief retalliated by saying that he had carried the mails at a time when the lawyer, and the likes of him, would have been afraid to do so.

† As illustrating the paucity of settlers at this time Mr L. G. West relates that the first day he carried the mail there were only thirteen settlers living in the vicinity of Palmerston North.

This arrangement was continued until the settlement had grown to such proportions that its inhabitants felt they deserved some consideration at the hands of the postal authorities. A meeting was accordingly held, at which Mr. McEwen was deputed to go to Wellington and interview Mr. Fox, who was then Postmaster-General. That gentleman was away from the seat of Government when the ambassador from Karere arrived, but he saw the next best man, Dr. Featherston, who promised that he would place the matter before Mr. Fox immediately upon his return, a promise which he faithfully kept; for shortly afterwards tenders were called for carrying the mails to and from Foxton, and Mr. Harry McEwen, being the successful tenderer, he became the first mailman for the Upper Manawatu.* This system of mail conveyance did duty until the military road was completed between Wellington and Hawke's Bay in 1869-70, a work which revolutionised the whole question of inland traffic. Then "Cobb and Co." made their advent upon the scene, and the era of the coaches began.

The journey from Wellington to Foxton

* Under the arrangement entered into with Mr. Fox, Mr. McEwen, senr., became postmaster at Karere, and Mr. G. M. Snelson subsequently held a similar position at Palmerston. Mr. McEwen continued to act for no less a period than fourteen years, and only relinquished office when the Manawatu Company's Railway came through, for then it was found inconvenient to have the Post Office so far away from the railway terminus, and consequently it was removed to Longburn.

was as picturesque in some parts as it was painful in others, and generally something in the shape of an adventure could be relied upon to break the tedium of the way. Still the service was an excellent one, and in its day played an important part in the development of the West Coast, and the benefit of it is being still reaped by the present generation, who only hear of the coaching days when their fathers become reminiscent of "old times."

For a number of years the journey northward to Whanganui was continued along the Rangitikei beach, but when the old wooden tramway was laid from Foxton* to Palmerston an inland diversion was made, and the little town derived additional importance from the fact that it was made a nightly stage in the day's journey. With the improved facilities for travelling offered by the coaches the number of visitors to the district increased every year, and as the hotel accommodation of the better sort was still very limited, even as late as 1878, the passengers frequently had to rough it for the night, which they did in a good-natured way. At times when the coach was crowded the hotels would be so full that after every bed, stretcher, and table was occupied by tired and weary travellers, the

* The piece of road from Foxton to the sea beach was so rough that it was known as the "Bay of Biscay."

landlord and waiter would sit down and play "Yankee grab" to decide who was to have the privilege of sleeping on the hearth-rug.

To the industries of the district flax-dressing on an extensive scale had now been added, for there were several mills in and around Foxton, one of which kept no less than six strippers at work. The systematic manufacture of what otherwise would have been a waste product of the land not only attracted population by offering a profitable field for labour, but it also meant a valuable increase in the wealth produced. This aspect of the question had not failed to attract the attention of the Provincial authorities, and some estimate may be formed of the value which they set upon it, and of the condition of affairs in the province generally, from the fact that the Provincial Treasurer declared in a speech to the Council that the Manawatu was "the only stay of Wellington."

Up to this period there had been scarcely any political history in the Manawatu, and certainly no political excitement. Provincially it had not possessed sufficient population to claim a special representative, and in colonial politics it had ranked as one of the country districts of Wellington represented by Mr. Brandon. But in the year 1870 its inhabitants had increased to about eight hundred

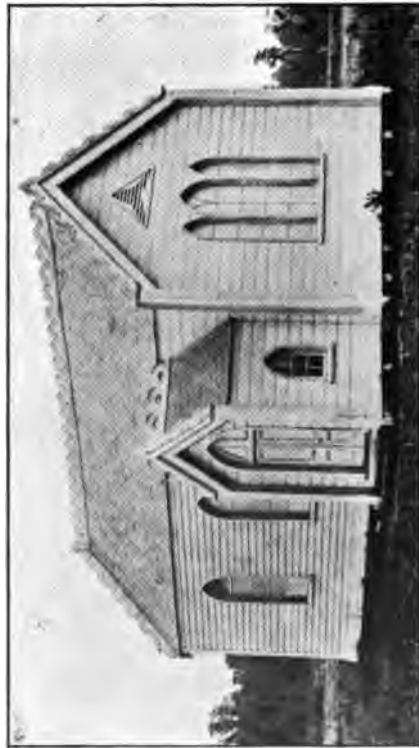
souls, and its growing importance entitled it to some greater consideration. Accordingly a new district called Manawatu was created, for both the Provincial Council and House of Representatives. The honour of being its first representative in the former was conferred upon Mr. E. S. Thynne, and in the election for the latter, Mr. Walter Johnston was successful against Messrs. Thynne and William Osborne, his opponents.

In the year 1871 the district received a considerable augmentation to its population as the outcome of a scheme which originated with Dr. Featherston. This was the introduction of a number of Scandinavian families who had been selected by Bishop Monrad, a former resident of the district. The presence of this gentleman in the colony, and more particularly in the wilds of the Manawatu, is only another exemplification of the singular mixture of characters to be met with amongst the pioneers of New Zealand. Prior to his arrival in this Ultima Thule, Bishop Monrad had been a man of European, if not of world-wide reputation. "Mind was stamped upon his brow" is the description given of him by one who saw him here, and the strong intellectual power which was so apparent in his later years was not less manifest in his younger days. Born at Copenhagen, in 1811, he was trained under the guidance of his

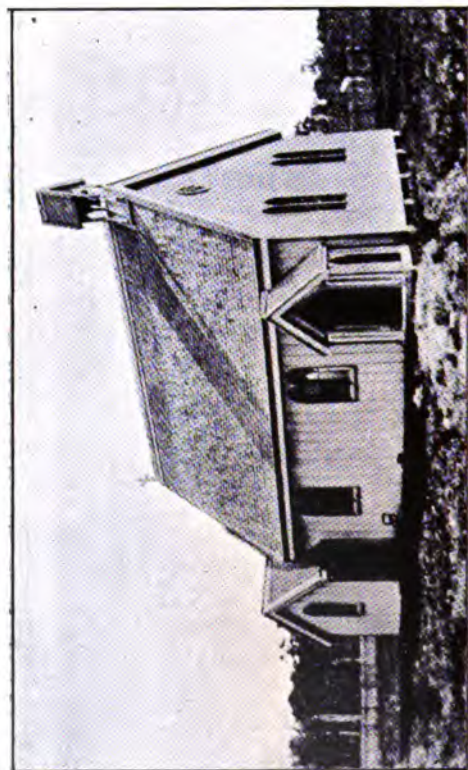
uncle, who humoured his natural bent for study, and gave him the fullest opportunity of developing his unusually active mind. A brilliant college course marked the beginning of a great career, which may be said to have fairly commenced, when at the age of twenty-eight he threw himself with all the ardour of youth into the politics of his native land. At that time the question of demanding a constitution from the new King was the one topic which agitated the Danish mind, and young Monrad's speeches and letters in favour of the movement brought him no little fame amongst the people, and a considerable amount of persecution from the authorities. Still he persevered, writing and lecturing in all parts of Denmark, till 1848, when King Christian VIII. died, and Frederick VII. ascended the throne. Then the Liberal cause triumphed, and Monrad took up his rightful position as one of the first Ministers under the new form of Government. In the following year he was created Bishop of Laaland and Falster, and being a strong man in both Church and State he increased his power with every year, until he was called to the Premiership upon the resignation of the Hall Ministry, of which he had been a member. Some conception of his influence may be formed from the fact that his Ministry

was jocularly compared to the sum of 1,000,000, with the Bishop as the figure one and the remaining members of his Cabinet as the six noughts. As the advocate of Liberal principles and the promoter of judicious reform, Bishop Monrad enjoyed considerable popularity for a time, but with him, as with all strong men in the realm of politics, the tide of public opinion—hitherto flowing—began to ebb. His party was overthrown, and the erstwhile Premier, either from compulsion or choice, sought relief in exile in New Zealand. What attraction this colony had for him is unknown—perhaps its name had some charm, perhaps its constitution was the magnet. Howbeit, he refrained from entering our field of politics, and devoted his leisure to his favourite intellectual employment, the translation of the Bible into Oriental languages. In course of time, however, the fortune of political warfare turned again in favour of his party, and he returned to Denmark in 1868, commissioned by Dr. Featherston to select from amongst his countrymen a number of families who, in his opinion, would make suitable settlers, and who would care to exchange the settled conditions at Home for the possibilities of a colonial life.

Having now acquired practically the whole of the West Coast for settlement purposes, the



FIRST METHODIST CHURCH, PALMERSTON NORTH.



FIRST ANGLICAN CHURCH, PALMERSTON NORTH.

Government's greatest need was a population to occupy it; but the heavily-timbered nature of much of the country was thought to be a serious barrier to the success of the colonists, who had come straight from the fields and meadows of England. On the other hand, it appeared to the Provincial authorities that a people accustomed to the woods and forests of Scandinavia would furnish the exact material for the subjugation of a wilderness such as reigned in the Manawatu, and it was the adoption of this idea which led to the introduction of the Scandinavian immigrants, to whom we owe so much for the splendid pioneering work which they did.

The first batch of these strangers, to the number of about one hundred and twenty souls, arrived in Wellington early in 1871 by the ship "Hooden." Their coming was openly resented by the labourers of the city, who made a hostile demonstration to prevent them landing, but the Danish Consul, Mr Toxward, boarded the vessel, and assured them that they were in no bodily danger. But men who were so courageous as these were not likely to be intimidated by such opposition, and they followed the Consul in the best of humours to the barracks set apart for them, where they celebrated their safe arrival by unpacking their fiddles and

spending the night in dancing. These strangers were composed principally of Norwegians, of whom some twenty families, equivalent to about sixty souls, arrived at Foxton, by the s.s. Luna, on 14th February, 1871, accompanied by Mr Halcombe, the Provincial Secretary, who came to superintend their disembarkation. As soon as all had been got on shore, and children who had lost their parents, and parents who had lost their children, were re-united, the pilgrimage to Palmerston was commenced. The majority of the men walked over the sand dunes and through the bush, while the women and children, together with their boxes and baggage, were taken up the river in canoes. What the feelings of these people were upon entering this new country can hardly be described. The loneliness must have been intensely depressing. The knowledge that they were irrevocably separated from all the associations of the past, the uncertainty of the future, and the long years of arduous toil which they knew would have to be faced, with what result they knew not, possibly gave them a passing pang of regret at having made the venture. But the feeling that they were indeed strangers in a strange land was considerably diminished by the cordiality of the welcome they received from the resident settlers, and the darkening clouds of doubt

were soon dispelled by that divinely-sent spirit of hope which "springs eternal in the human breast," and buoyed them up until brighter days appeared.

Their first experience of pioneerdom was a flood which came down while they were trudging slowly along, and delayed them for some time, by making their route more circuitous and travelling more unpleasant. There is a legend that some of them even had to take refuge in the trees and remain there until the waters had subsided, but true or exaggerated as this may be, the journey taxed their patience and their hardihood, but its trials were only a forerunner of the troubles which they were yet to meet.

Upon their arrival at Palmerston they were at once located on a block of land near Awapuni, each family receiving a section of forty acres on a system of purchase equivalent in almost every particular to our present day system of deferred payment. The position chosen for them was by no means a favourable one, as the Awapuni of those days was little better than a dismal swamp, and it certainly needed all the experience and fortitude which they had gained in their native woods to withstand the hardships with which they had to contend during the first year. Floods were frequent, the soil wet and ungenerous,

the bush dense and rank, and but for the hospitality of the Maoris, who supplied them with potatoes, their fare would have been as scanty as their prospect was cheerless.

In almost every instance they were without capital, and entirely dependent upon the Government for work, which was found for them upon the roads. But wages were low and living was expensive. A hundred-weight of flour cost 35s., and other merchandise was correspondingly high,* and they had therefore need to exercise the utmost thrift to save sufficient money to improve their properties. But as at the beginning so throughout, they proved themselves to be steady and industrious settlers, who showed a magnificent example of industry to others around them, toiling from early morning until late in the evening to bring their holdings into fruitful bearing. Difficulties were to them only an incentive to greater exertions, and ere long the bush began to fall before their glittering axes, cottages began to appear, and the comfort which is the reward of prudence, soon crowned their labours. Amongst the most successful, to mention no other names, were Messrs. Bergensen, Christiansen, Johansen, Hansen, Blixt, Lingren, Thomson, and F. A. Andersen, who at first officiated as

* Transport was at this time (1871) as high as £20 per ton from Foxton, which contributed in no small degree to the cost of living.

interpreter. Most of these pioneers are still living in the district, and they have a deep affection for this southern land of their adoption. The story is told of one who, after years of lucrative labour, went back to the Home Country and purchased some property, upon which he intended to spend the remainder of his days. Very shortly a band of soldiers marched up to his door and quartered themselves in his house. In telling the anecdote to a friend, he plaintively declared that "they eat mine bread, they eat mine pig, and they eat me out of the house." He did not wait for a second experience of the kind, but as soon as possible returned to Palmerston, where he still resides, more than ever satisfied with his lot.

Another colonist of the same thrifty stamp, who throughout his local career had treasured the intention of one day returning to his Fatherland to reside, was at last able to gratify his desire. He remained there for a week, and then caught the next steamer for New Zealand.* Within twelve months of the first immigrants' arrival, their ranks were reinforced by a contingent of one hundred and twenty Danes and Swedes, who also came out under the auspices of the province. It

* Some four or five years later a colony of Germans was established at Jackson's Bay in the Middle Island, but as the experiment was a disheartening failure, the immigrants removed to Palmerston, where they became valued members of the young community.

was then that the Provincial Government began their Public Works policy, under which they proposed to spend something like £40,000 upon the formation of main roads and the much-talked-of tram-line. Under this scheme the road was opened up as far as Bulls, and the Awahuri Bridge built over the Oroua River, thus bringing the district into comparatively direct communication with the fertile country of the north. The construction of the tramway* was also put in hand, the contractors for the principal part of the work being Messrs. Crawshaw and Proctor, of Dunedin. The work was of a somewhat primitive character, and could never be regarded as a complete success. The rails were of wood, and with exposure to the weather they soon developed kinks and curvatures, which made the travelling over them a series of wild, hilarious jerks. The first cars were drawn by horses, and it frequently required the assistance of all the passengers to lift them back to the track, from which they would sometimes stray in making one of their frantic leaps from one bulge to the other. After a time the good old quadrupeds were discarded, and an iron horse substituted by way of motive power. This engine was duly and properly christened

* The cutting of the rails for the tramway was the first work performed by Mr. Peter Manson's steam saw-mill.

"The Skunk," but its puffings and snortings were of such an asthmatical nature that they drew down upon it the derisive name of "The coffee-pot." It was certainly a quaint and queer mechanical contrivance, not the least of its peculiarities being an almost human-like spirit of perversity, for it seemed to go when it liked and stop when it liked. On the occasion of its trial trip it took several hundreds of excursionists out for a jaunt, and left them stranded for hours half way between Foxton and Oroua Bridge. It was at all times a leisurely sort of engine, and the more important the occasion the more leisurely it became. There were times, too, when it refused to go altogether, and not until the driver had got down, plunged into the bush and cut a fresh stock of firewood, or drawn a bucket of water from a neighbouring ditch, with which to get up more steam, could it be induced to budge an inch. "The Skunk" and its train was, in consequence, the butt of many a joke, and would have been a gold mine to a humorist like Mark Twain, whose depiction of its eccentricities would have made laughter for the million.

The effect produced by "The Skunk" upon the natives was very marked, and caused them to marvel greatly at the resources of the *pakeha*. For a long time they could not be

induced to enter the cars, drawn as they were by something which they regarded as half god and half devil, and they contented themselves with running up and down beside the tram as it moved along, shouting and gesticulating in the most excited manner. But bye-and-bye, when some of them had plucked up enough courage to take a ride, and they survived the journey, there was no further trouble on the score of getting them to enter the tram—the difficulty was to keep them out.

This tram continued to be the chief means of communication with Foxton until the progress of the district, stimulated by the growth of the timber industry, justified the Government's utilising, in 1876, the old tramway by turning it into a railway, built upon thoroughly substantial lines.

During these early stages of the settlement, such roads as had been formed were managed and maintained by a self-appointed committee, whose efforts were so far recognised by the Provincial Council that they received a subsidy from that body of £2 for £1 until about the year 1872. Then the task became so great that it required some more direct official power to deal with it, and for this purpose the old Highway Board was called into existence. The responsibilities of this body were greatly increased by the opening

up of the new districts now known as the Aorangi and Kairanga. The latter, which was the more important of the two, had always been admired as the future seat of agricultural farming, and but for its wet and swampy condition, together with its forest of white pine, it doubtless would have been one of the first portions of country to be settled. However, towards 1878, when most of the more inviting land had been taken up, its survey was begun, and 8000 acres were laid off in farms which were sold in 1880, and in spite of the formidable difficulties with which the land was loaded, in the shape of a superabundance of wood and water, the sections found ready and energetic purchasers. With creditable alacrity the primary work of draining was commenced, but, owing to the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient outlet, and perhaps a not over-particular observance of the law of levels, many of the drains were of little use beyond providing spoil for making roads, which were now as indispensable as the drains. With these preliminary works in hand the "bush-whacker" took supreme command of the Kairanga for a time. Then the fires followed him, consuming the bush and the mosquitos in their devouring flame, and rendering life in Palmerston almost intolerable through the oppressive heat and

blinding, choking clouds of smoke which rolled over the town.

But, while all this external progress was going on, it must not be supposed that no effort was being made to establish a commercial centre for the new district in the shape of a town. Ever since it had been decided on the recommendation of Mr. J. T. Stewart to utilise the Papaioea flat for that purpose, some progress had been made in that direction. Detailed surveys were completed which provided for a town laid out upon modern lines, with an extensive "lung" in the centre known as The Square, from which there ran in all directions at right angles wide and spacious streets. A compliment was paid to Lord Palmerston in naming the township* after him, and the first land sales in this embryo capital of the Manawatu took place in 1866, when, as already mentioned, the upset value placed upon the sections ranged from £52 in the Square to £10 in the main streets. These prices, however, cheap as they appear to us, did not

* When originally laid off the township was described as the "Township of Palmerston," but confusion soon began to arise with the town of the same name in Otago, and to distinguish them the word "North" was added. As this was still unsatisfactory, the Government asked the people to suggest another name under the Designation of Districts Act, 1894. A public meeting was held and many suggestions were made, including a proposal to call it Ujiji, after the spot where Sir H. M. Stanley found Dr. Livingston. Finally it was agreed to recommend the name "Manawatu," but to this the postal authorities objected, as being also the name of the neighbouring county. As the Government would not accept the name of "Manawatu," and the Borough Council would not recommend any other name, a deadlock ensued, and the town still remains unpoetic Palmerston North.

attract many purchasers, and several years elapsed after the sale before Palmerston was anything more than a place of surveyors' pegs and native scrub. In fact, as late as 1868 Papaioea was simply a shingle bed, studded with rank manuka, and set in a frame of forest which skirted along the terrace, running parallel with Ferguson Street as far as Terrace End, then down what is now Featherston Street to a line which might be represented by Pascal Street.

The only buildings in the neighbourhood at this time were two manuka *whares* built by the surveyors on the section now occupied by the Union Bank of Australia, a hut on the Rangitikei Line near the present sale yards, belonging to Robert Menzies, and that apparently indispensable adjunct to civilisation, a "pub," which stood on the land directly opposite the Railway Station, where Host Stanley presided over its barrels and its bottles until he was compelled to relinquish business for the want of customers. What a commentary upon present day conditions? What a tribute to doubtful progress, when we reflect that only thirty-four short years ago Palmerston North failed in its attempt to support one lonely hotel, while to-day it maintains with apparent ease and palatial opulence more than a baker's dozen; but perhaps the

high price of grog in those days had something to do with the sobriety of the district as well as the paucity of inhabitants, for twelve shillings was the price asked for a bottle of square gin, and rum was considered to be worth quite as much.

Subsequently the hostelry was re-opened by Mr. Edward Cole, who began business with the modest stock of two gallons of rum, which were brought from Bulls, but better times came when the Public Works were begun in the district, and soon the supply was increased to five gallons. Such a plethora of liquor, however, excited the covetousness and stimulated the drought in the throats of some thirsty souls, for one night they stole silently through the back door of the little building and drained the barrel to the dregs, and thus once more the Upper Manawatu became perforce a prohibition district.*

But soon a larger vista was opened up to the inhabitants, for, as population increased, in 1872 Mr. Charles Waldegrave, senr., came and purchased the remains of Mr. Snelson's first store, which he removed to the corner of the Square and Rangitikei Street, and there erected the Royal Hotel, a structure 10 feet

* Although not excusable on this ground, these depredations were to some extent encouraged by the free and easy manners of the times, for in the absence of a stringent Licensing Act, if the landlord thought it necessary to seek relaxation from the pressure of business, he would, with a sublime disregard for the wants of his customers, shut the place up, and after chalking the legend in large letters on the door, "Gone to Wellington," quietly take his departure for that far-off city, remaining there until the spirit moved him to return.

by 12 feet, which has long since been superseded by the more imposing building which now stands on the same site. But the Royal and the Palmerston Hotels were not the only places at which the traveller could obtain liquid refreshment about this period. The Maoris had come to the conclusion that there was money in the business, and now and again, as a pioneer passed along the road to Foxton or Rangitikei, an old *wahine* might be seen sitting on a fallen log with her shawl closely drawn about her, contentedly smoking her pipe. Obviously, the first impression to cross the mind of the uninitiated was that she was a traveller like himself resting by the way, but this innocent supposition was soon dispelled, for the old lady would hail him in a quaint mixture of Maori and "pigeon" English, "*Haere-mai pakeha!* You rika the nobra? Only *hikapene*." Supposing the *pakeha* did happen to "rika the nobra"—and there were few in those days who did not—she would then proceed to slowly bring from beneath the folds of her garments a bottle of rum from which the prescribed "nobbler" would be poured, paid for, and duly quaffed, after which the traveller would resume his journey, and the *wahine* would relapse into a harmless old woman, who was only resting her weary bones.

It was, however, from the simple beginnings

which existed in 1868 that Palmerston North may be said to have acquired the power to become the largest inland town in the colony, and if its progress was at first slow this tardiness was soon compensated for by the rapidity with which its secondary stages were passed. The chief cause of this early stagnation was its distance from the port and the entire absence of proper roads. At this time Foxton was the largest settlement between Wellington and Whanganui, and formed the commercial centre for the whole Manawatu, but until the Foxton line had been cut, the site of Palmerston was practically inaccessible, except by poling canoes up the river. For this reason the outer districts were first settled, and it was not until the fine totara which grew at Terrace End could be turned into a marketable product that there was any disposition to build up a municipal rival to Foxton.

The "seventies," however, showed a marked advance upon the "sixties," and one of the chief evidences of this was the need for some better system of conducting the district's legal business. The Manawatu, being a new settlement compared with Wellington and Whanganui, and the regular administration of the law being now established, its residents were never altogether without its protection or beyond the reach

of justice. Long before the population had swelled to anything like hundreds, a Justices' Court had been opened at Foxton, over which Captain Robinson presided, but the business was seldom more serious than the fining of an inebriated sailor, or the adjustment of some small commercial transaction. But when Palmerston began to rival Foxton in its municipal importance, and its environs were being fairly well peopled, the settlers found the trouble of travelling to Foxton very irksome, and they took steps to have a Court opened nearer home. The Government were accordingly successfully importuned, and Major Willis, an officer of the 14th Regiment, was appointed to deal out justice in the Manawatu and Rangitikei districts.

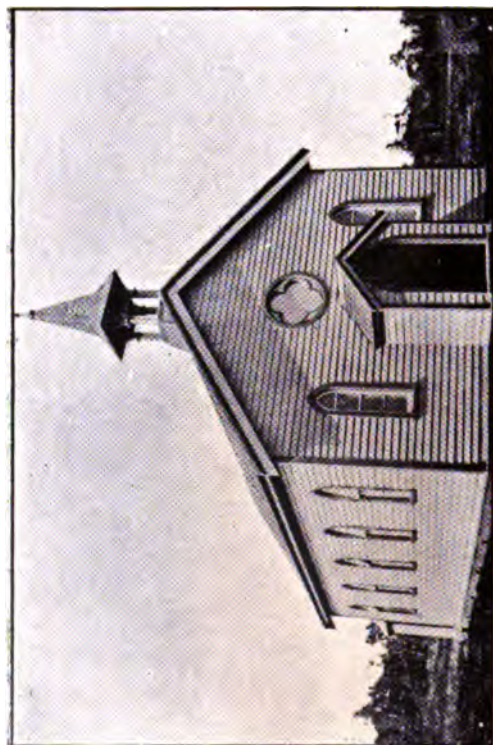
The Police Station at this period was an unpretentious little structure which stood in Main Street, but we will not enquire too closely into the method of its management, for what matters it now if the man in blue sometimes held a lantern to enable two rowdies to finish a fight in the street, and so saved himself the bother of locking them up. The probabilities are that the combatants would be the better friends for their encounter, and the convenient policy of allowing events to find their own level certainly spared every body concerned a great deal of trouble.

After the establishment of justice the next most urgent requirement seemed to be a public school. As yet there was no means of obtaining instruction for the young nearer than Foxton, where a school had already been established under the Provincial Government. Although the number of olive branches who had sprung up was not as yet great, it was felt that this defect would quickly be remedied, and that the sooner provision was made for their education the better. Accordingly, an application was made to the Provincial authorities* for a school-house and a teacher. Both of these requests were acceded to, and what was called in those days a "fore-and-aft" building was erected on the corner now occupied by the Empire Hotel, and Mr. R. N. Keeling came down from Marton to take charge of it. This scholastic institution was opened on the auspicious day of April 1st, 1872, with the modest attendance of eight scholars, but the numbers grew rapidly, for in addition to the natural increase it was not long before the Feilding immigrants arrived, and being temporarily located at Terrace End until their homes were ready for them

* Advantage was taken by Mrs. Snelson of a visit paid to the district by the then Superintendent, Mr. Fitzherbert; Mr. Buckley, Provincial Solicitor; and Mr. Bunny, Provincial Secretary, to point out the need for a school, and at her request the site in Main Street was set apart as an Educational Reserve. The site for the school at Foxton was given by the native chief Ihakara Tukumaru, and the school was first taught by the Rev. Mr. Duncan. The bell for the Palmerston North school was presented by Mr. E. W. Mills, of Wellington.



**FIRST ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH,
PALMERSTON NORTH.**



FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH PALMERSTON NORTH.

on the Manchester Block, their young hopefuls were sent to the Palmerston school to learn the rudiments of their language, the difference between an island and an isthmus, and such unconsidered trifles as the rules of leap-frog and the mysteries of marbles.* After the second year the school was annually examined by Mr. Robert Lee, and the functions of the School Committee seemed to devolve solely on Mr. G. M. Snelson, who was rapidly developing into a species of general-utility man. He had all to do with the letting of the school-house for other than school purposes, for as it was the only room in the township of any magnitude, it was used for every kind of public function. It was to the school-house the people went to church, each denomination taking it by turns. It was there they attended their lectures, concerts,* and dances, and it was there also that the intellectual portion of the community went to listen to "penny readings," for which, by the way, they paid the paradoxical price of one shilling. At the time the school was built the town

* Mr. Keeling remained in charge of the school for three years, and then resigned to accept the secretaryship of the Local Board which had been formed to manage the affairs of the town. He was succeeded at the school by Mr. H. W. Waite, who died while in charge of the institution. Mr. Locke, of Whanganui, was then appointed, and he afterwards exchanged with Mr. F. E. Watson, who acted as Head Master until November 1890, when the Palmerston school was closed, and the Campbell street school opened.

* The programmes for the concerts in those days were always written out by the performers, and supplied to the audience in manuscript. The notices announcing the concerts were stuck up on trees alongside the main roads so that they could be read by passers-by.

was still a very primitive affair. There were only two shops in the Square, kept by Messrs. Snelson and Phillips, and run on the general store principle. There was also the Royal Hotel, which by this time had had a dining-room added to it, Richter, Nannestad* and Jensen's, and Manson and Bartholomew's saw-mills, at Terrace End, and a few stray houses scattered here and there. The south-eastern side of the Square had not then been laid off, but was an undefined part of a region known as "the flat," and was covered with fern, *tutu*, and *toe-toe*. On the opposite side at what is now the end of Rangitikei Street there were deep lagoons to which the sporting settlers went to shoot ducks, while Taonui Street† was the only thoroughfare that claimed the glory of a continuous row of dwellings. Of Broad Street there was nothing to be seen, and Main Street was conspicuous chiefly because the tramway ran along it to Terrace End.

Towards the end of the year 1873, however, the business places had increased to six, an improvement warranted by the general increase of population. Then the bush began to fall, and this interference with their natural haunts and the prospect of tasting new

* Messrs Richter & Nannestad are now the oldest business men in Palmerston North.

† Taonui Street subsequently lost its prestige, and became known as "Soap Suds Alley."

blood brought out during the summer months a plague of man-eating mosquitos, which persecuted the inhabitants with a persistency worthy of a better cause. It was one of the humours of Artemus Ward to declare that in the course of his travels he had met mosquitos so big that they weighed several pounds, but if the early Palmerstonians could not make this boast, there were times when they might not unreasonably assume that a younger brother of the same family had sought them out. The men working in the bush were terrible sufferers, and they were forced to devise a protection, which took the form of a ring of wire placed over the hat to which was attached a piece of muslin or cheese cloth, which hung like a curtain over the head, with two loop-holes through which the wearer could see.

In the town the men walked about the streets with their pants tucked into their socks, to prevent the ubiquitous fly getting up the leg of those garments. At night it was absolutely essential to keep a fire smouldering in a tin outside the door, to intercept the insects as they swarmed towards the chinks and cracks through which the faintest glimmer of light could be seen. Neglect of this precaution meant that every naked light in the house would be smothered, even if the

mosquitos perished in the attempt. A bed without a set of curtains was simply a place of torture ; the person who sat down to meals invited the mosquitos to make a meal of him, on " bad days " food often had to be taken as best it could whilst one was pacing up and down the room, and unless the greatest care was exercised, the irrepressible little pests would contrive to get themselves so mixed up with the tea and sugar as to make their separation impossible. Had it been as easy to get out of Palmerston then as it is now, very few would have remained long enough to get inoculated, but with most of the people they were there, and there they had to stay, and when once their systems became accustomed to the insects' poison, they treated them with more or less contempt, the sufferers being confined to the new-comers.

Notwithstanding this drawback, steady progress was made during the next few years, the town and suburban sections being rapidly taken up. The shops in the Square continued to increase, and an independent post office was established near the present Windsor Buildings, under the charge of Mr. Innes, who took over the duties of postmaster from Mr. Snelson.

An institution known as Ockenden Hall had also sprung into existence. This was

scarcely the aristocratic building its name would seem to imply, for it had formerly been a carpenter's workshop, which stood almost on the site of Messrs. G. H. Bennett and Co.'s present place of business, and was named after its original owner. It was here that the assemblies and fashionable balls organised by the little community were afterwards held, but how fashionable they were may be judged by the fact that the ladies whose maternal cares would keep them at home in these days, if they could not transfer them to some one else, brought their offspring with them, and it was not an uncommon thing to see the mazy dance proceeding with undiminished vigour, while a row of chubby babies lay on a bench beside the wall. It must not, however, be supposed that this was the result of any want of affection on the part of the parents, or that mothers of that time were less careful of the health of their children than they are to-day. Rather let it be remembered that the fair sex were then few and far between; in fact, early in 1872, there were only three white women in the town, and it took them all, together with the wives of the country settlers, to make a gathering worthy of Ockenden Hall. Thus, in the absence of nursemaids, the presence of the babies could not be avoided, and it is just possible that this early contact with the light fantastic may account for

its popularity with some of the present generation.

In addition to these European dwellings, about twenty-three in all, there was also a Maori *pa* at Hokowhitu, famed for its gardens and its peaches. Here, at a subsequent date, a Maori saw-mill was set up, out of which the natives made a good deal of money, and lost it all again at "poker." The indulgence in this and other systems of gambling had, unfortunately, become a perfect passion with a section of the people, and when the landlord played the waiter for the right to sleep on the hearthrug, it is doubtful whether the desire for rest or the love of "a flutter," as it was called, was the predominating motive which suggested this method of settling the point. The game in the parlour was a well-established institution in the hotels, and large sums of money were nightly lost and won on the fall of the dice or the turn of a card. As might be expected, it was not long before the Maoris were swept into the vortex of *pakeha* vice, and their time, money, and morals were swallowed up in pursuing the fascinations of a game of chance.

But all the natives of Hokowhitu were not gamblers, for some of them were proud to make an open profession of Christian faith. Morning and evening prayers were regularly

held at the *pa*, to which the worshipers were summoned by the ringing of a cow-bell. In many parts of the Middle Island the converted Maoris made church bells out of their gun barrels, and rung them by striking them with stones; but the people of Hokowhitu were much more utilitarian in their methods. They had a favourite cow to whose neck it was of course necessary to attach a bell in order to prevent her getting lost in the bush, and every day, as the hour for service approached, the picaninnies were sent out to fetch the cow in; the bell was then taken from her neck, duly rung, and when all the worshippers had assembled, Strawberry was once more embellished with her tinkler, and turned out to grass.

Nothing could be more striking than the simple yet sincere faith of these natives, but occasionally, as amongst their white brethren, there was a falling from grace, which had its humorous as well as its serious side. A prominent leader in the *pa* at times allowed his temper to get the better of him, and then he would vent his wrath upon the wife of his bosom. The wife thereupon responded by breaking everything breakable in the house, and wound up by taking her departure for another *pa*. After the lapse of a few days, the irate husband would begin to realise what a fool he had been, and become very penitent.

When he arrived at this stage he was in the habit of going over to the wife of a *pakeha* neighbour and pouring out his troubles to her. As might be expected, he received more sound advice than sympathy from that quarter, and was pretty severely rated for his conduct. On one occasion he was asked why he was continually creating these domestic jars, when he gave an answer which may have expressed his feelings, but which betrayed as imperfect a knowledge of his anatomy as it did of things spiritual, for instead of attributing the trouble, as he no doubt intended to do, to his evil heart, he declared that it was all due to his "wicked belly."

One would have thought that a native whose hands were so full of family worries would not have ventured upon any course which was likely to increase them. But this gentleman exhibited no timidity on that point, for after the Hokowhitu *pa* had been broken up, he fell into the toils of some Mormon elders, and became a disciple of Brigham Young. When upbraided by an unbelieving *pakeha* for thus changing his faith, he waxed eloquent and argumentative upon the merits of Mormonism, and settled the whole question by quoting a precedent which has often been found a difficult nut to crack. "Ha," he said, "You reada the Bible? You know

the Kingi Solomon? He the wise man. How many the *wahine* you think he have? One! No fear. Forty *wahine*! *Kapai* the Kingi Solomon, he the *wise* man!" and he laid such emphasis upon the wisdom of Solomon, that he appeared to have imbibed the idea that with forty wives of his own he would become just as infallible as the builder of the Temple.

Reference may now be fittingly made to another movement which was rapidly approaching fruition, and which tended materially to the furtherance of settlement on the waste lands of the coast. This was the purchase by an English corporation of what is now the Manchester Block, and the establishment of the town of Feilding in the midst of a natural clearing, surrounded by dense bush. When we remember that no later than 1873 the spot whereon Feilding now stands was not far removed from a howling wilderness—an empty place—whose silence was broken only by the cry of some frightened bird, the rustle of the swamp reeds, and the sighing of the wind through the tall and stately forest; when we remember that where broad streets are now laid out, thirty years ago there were only deep and impassable marshes; that where lofty rows of buildings stand there grew in Nature's garden a luxuriant crop of manuka, fern, and

toe-toe ; when we remember that where cultivated farms now stretch their broad acres, and homesteads nestle in the midst of English trees, there stood little more than a quarter of a century ago the giant pines of the New Zealand bush, knit together by a tangled undergrowth, impenetrable except where an ancient Maori track had pierced the matted jungle;—when we recall all this, and then look out upon the transformation which has been worked in so short a space of time—the triumph of Art over Nature—he must be a dull being indeed to whose cheek the flush of pride does not come at the thought of the British pluck and British enterprise by which the change has been wrought, and who will not say “Well done!” to those hardy pioneers who dared the anxieties, and perhaps the privations, of colonial life, in order to found for themselves a new home in a new land.

The town of Feilding was an integral part of the colonising scheme which originated in London about the year 1870, and which ultimately took the form of the Emigrant and Colonists' Aid Society, of which the Duke of Manchester was chairman. The scheme was nominally one of philanthropy, intended to give the mechanics of England an opportunity of bettering their condition, but, as is

often the case with the benefactors of the working man, it was found that under the glamour of benevolence the directors had managed to introduce a substantial element of business, and that its commercial side was every whit as important as its philanthropic aspect.

As the delegate of this society, the Hon. Colonel Feilding came to the colonies in 1871, and after travelling through many parts of Australia in search of a favourable field in which to commence operations, he arrived in New Zealand, where he found a climate eminently suited to the English constitution, a soil abundantly fertile, and above all a Government anxious to foster any reasonable scheme for the settlement of people on its unoccupied lands. He had, therefore, little difficulty in selecting a suitable site, and making fair terms with the Colonial and Provincial Governments. The negotiations resulted in the purchase of an area of 106,000 acres in the heart of what had hitherto been known as the Rangitikei - Manawatu and Ahuaturanga Blocks, for which it was agreed to pay 15s. per acre, payment to be made by bills bearing interest at 5 per cent., and maturing at different intervals over ten years. Yet another condition was imposed upon the society by the Government, and that was that they were to settle 2000 people on the block

within six years, the Government, however, agreeing to provide these emigrants with free passages, and to find work for them in the formation of the railway through the corporation's territory, which henceforth was to be known as the Manchester Block. As a further inducement, the Provincial Government made a conditional agreement with Colonel Feilding to spend a sum not exceeding £2000 per annum for five years, to assist in the formation of the by-roads through the district.

The scheme hung fire for a time upon Colonel Feilding's return to England, but in 1873 the necessary capital was subscribed, and the offices of the society at Queen Ann's Gate were being daily visited by intending emigrants, the first batches of whom were despatched in the Ocean Mail, La Hogue, Euterpe, and Salisbury. Within two months of their arrival, early in 1874, there were 250 people on the ground, and Feilding entered upon the first stage of its importance. The emigrants were taken by steamer from Wellington to Foxton, and thence by tramway to what was then described as the "small" town of Palmerston, where they were housed for a few weeks in a dépôt built by the corporation at Terrace End. Here they waited until transit to their future home could be found for them, which transit consisted of a journey

across country in a bullock-dray. There were then no roads and few tracks, and the shaking and jolting of the dray was well calculated to revive unpleasant memories of the Bay of Biscay. Upon arrival at the spot where it was decided to plant the town of Feilding, these people, who had been accustomed to the towns and cities of England—to the comfort and enjoyment of established homes—were dumped down in the midst of a natural clearing, with only here and there a surveyor's tent to remind them that something human was at hand. A few of them were placed in small wooden cottages, but more of them were temporarily drafted off into weather-boarded V-shaped huts, with rough bunks inside, but no chimney, the cooking being done on fires lighted in the open. These cottages stood on an acre of land valued at £10, and the terms of occupancy were that by paying a rental of 7s. per week for three years the land and the building became the settler's property. Provisions were at first supplied at the corporation store, which stood at the corner of Kimbolton Road and Macarthur Street, but sometimes a shortage of food was experienced, for when the weather was bad the bullocks were unable to travel, and all carting operations had to cease.

At all times the agent of the corporation, Mr. Halcombe, and his sub-agent, Mr.

Macarthur, were most solicitous for the welfare, and as far as it could be provided, for the comfort of the colonists, and it says much for their forethought and humanity that so large a measure of both was achieved. Mr. Halcombe did not remain long at the head of the settlement, resigning to promote a similar enterprise in the Auckland district, and his mantle most worthily fell upon Mr. Macarthur,* upon whom the burden of engineering the scheme to success mainly devolved.

The first work on which the emigrants were engaged was, of course, clearing the scrub and fern from off the township site, then the streets were formed, Manchester and Warwick Streets being the most difficult to make for the reason that they were so heavily timbered. There was thus ample work to keep all employed, and so fulfil the corporation's promise to its settlers that it would find them labour on three days a week, and when in 1876 the directors were successful in securing the contract to build the railway from Bunnythorpe to a point about four miles beyond Feilding, there was enough to do to keep the men engaged all the week through.

It would be idle to draw upon our imagination to describe the evolutionary process by which the little township has grown to its

* Mr. Macarthur afterwards became member for the district in the House of Representatives, and a prominent man in colonial politics.

present proportions, when we have the vivid word picture of one who was an actual participator in its most trying stages, for here is the genesis of Feilding as told by Mr. Halcombe himself:—

It is difficult to leave this fascinating subject. We may look back some three months when two or three surveyors' tents were the only evidence of human habitation. We see now some thirty wooden houses already risen out of the flax and grass. We hear the busy hum of human voices, of men, of women, and of children unburthened with the cares of life. The ring of the axe, the echo of the hammer, and the crash of falling timber sound everywhere. The sharp cracks of the drivers' whips attract attention to horse and bullock-drays toiling along the rough flat with luggage, or people, or stores, or timber, or gravel for the newly-made roads. We notice a cloud of steam from the already fired brick-kiln—the earnest of future homely firesides. Dense volumes of smoke appear, denoting a bush clearing made; or the thin spiral columns rise from among the cluster of tents, telling of family dinners in course of preparation. The eye is caught by the long vistas newly cut through the virgin forest, and we note the thin double-line of rails just laid on the fresh-turned earth, the commencement of a snake-like progress which ends only with the utter destruction of the beautiful forest, as one stately tree after another is brought down and submitted to the mighty power represented by the huge unshapely boiler which lies on its side hard by.

Then Mr. Halcombe becomes boldly prophetic, and one has only to spend a few hours in the Feilding of to-day to realise how completely his prophecy has been fulfilled.

Dropping the curtain over this scene, making use of our experience of the rapid progress made in similar spots, and drawing on the imagination to depict the change which the next ten years will produce, it will not be unreasonable to picture this infant town grown into a vigorous manhood, with bells ringing the little one "unwillingly to school," with the whistle of the locomotive and the hum of factories, with gay shops and busy footpaths, with carts and carriages bowling along well-kept roads, with houses far and near nestling among a younger race of trees, surrounded by weeping willows, the cypress, and the pine in bright contrast to each other, and flanked by apple and peach-loaded orchards, with a steeple here and there, suggesting some degree of thankfulness for so bountiful a return for easy labour; while far back in the landscape the dark, rich, melancholy forest will be dimly seen, waiting its turn for destruction, and seeming to shrink for protection to the very feet of the distant snow-clad range.

Verily, Feilding* has grown to a vigorous manhood, for already the "rich, dark, melancholy forest" has receded to the feet of the Ruahines; already the town has become a borough, with its Mayor and its municipal institutions; its churches, its school, and its 2300 inhabitants, who are inspired with an unbounded faith in the future of their district.

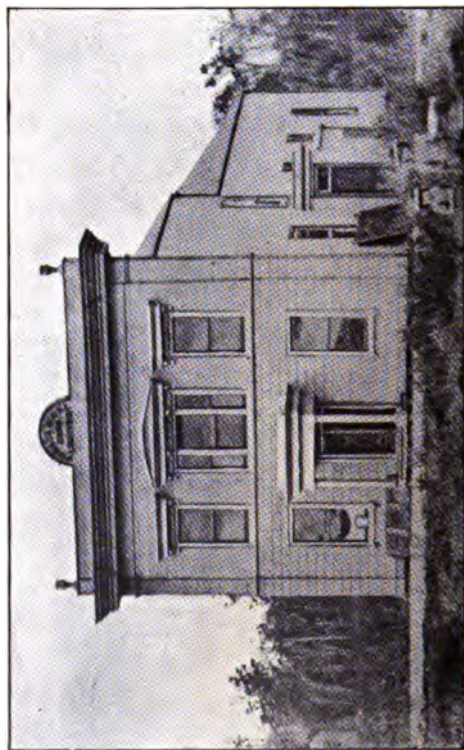
With the growing population in and around Palmerston, there was an ever-increasing desire on the part of the Europeans for a renewal of those religious observances which they had left behind them in the larger centres whence they had come, and it was

* The townships of Ashhurst and Halcombe were off-shoots of the main settlement,



POST OFFICE, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.

This Office stood on the Government Reserve next to the Windsor Buildings.



TOWN HALL PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.
This Building stood on the site of the Occidental Hotel.

not long before suitable arrangements were made to that end. The first service was held on a bright spring morning in 1872, the conducting clergyman being the Rev. Mr. Elmslie,* who had travelled down from Whanganui for that purpose. As yet no church had been built, and the only building available was Mr. Peter Manson's saw-mill, which that gentleman generously placed at the disposal of the worshippers. Under the roof of this structure the settlers gathered from far and near, clothed in all the adornment of their "Sunday best." It was a beautiful day, not a cloud to be seen, and the sun shone out in his meridian splendour. There was not even a breath of wind to disturb the foliage of the forest, and the hum of the mosquitos or the song of some bird were the only sounds that broke the stillness of the Sabbath calm. The preacher stood upon a rough dais raised at the end of the mill, and the people sat upon planks temporarily laid upon logs. Only the roof separated them from the canopy of heaven, for on either hand could be seen through the open sides the dark green bush surmounted by the deep blue sky. Back to the eastward lay the Tararuas, while to the westward the distance was lost in infinitude above the tree tops. There was no bell to call the congregation together, nor did

* Now Dr. Elmslie, of St. Paul's, Christchurch.

they need one, for they came of their own free will to offer thanks to the Father of All for bringing them safely through their early trials. In the midst of these humble surroundings, far from church or cathedral, the little band of plucky pioneers began their simple service, and when the preacher said "Let us worship God," every head was reverently bowed. The first notes of praise to break from the throats of these Pilgrim Fathers were those of that sublime psalm,

"All people that on earth do dwell,"

and they sang it with an earnestness that made the rafters ring and the echoes reverberate away in the woods. Mr. Elmslie read a portion of Scripture and then offered up a prayer, and there in the midst of the wilderness did they pour forth their thankfulness to God for all the goodness He had shown them, and an earnest petition was made that He who had done so much for them in the past would still continue to shower His blessings upon them, and guide and protect them in the days to come. That beautiful paraphrase,

"O God of Bethel, by whose hand,"

was next sung, and after the Lord's Prayer had been repeated, Mr. Elmslie delivered his sermon. It was short but appropriate, alluding, as it did, to the many trials and temptations of the past, the duties of the

present, and the hopes of the future. Then succeeded words of comfort and encouragement, the preacher urging his hearers to continue in the work of colonisation they had so courageously undertaken, and to place their confidence in the Lord of Hosts, who had hitherto bestowed upon them so many favours, and who was still their and their father's God. After singing another psalm the little congregation solemnly joined the pastor in prayer, and were then dismissed with an impressive benediction, which committed them to the care of Him who never slumbers nor sleeps.

Such was the first religious service held in Palmerston. Devoid of ritual, of pomp, and ceremonial, it was nevertheless full of fervent devotion. It was a communion with Invisible Perfection without the aid of high altars, of rich vestments, or long aisles to inspire the mind and stimulate the soul. It was also the pious outpourings of simple hearts, who believed with a simple faith the gracious promise, "Wherever two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them."

From this time onward the settlers were never entirely without the benefit of religious consolation, although for some years their clergy were of the peripatetic order. Occasionally

Mr. Duncan would come up from Foxton, or Mr. McGregor, a Presbyterian probationer, would come down from Feilding, but earlier than either of these were the Revs. W. S. Harper and T. F. Reeve, of the Wesleyan Church, who for some time had been holding services at Sandon, Bulls, and other places, Palmerston being amongst the number. In 1874 they were succeeded by the Rev. T. G. Hammond, who was appointed to Marton in that year, and with that little township as his centre, he was in the habit of periodically visiting all the different settlements.

On the second Sunday after his appointment to Rangitikei, Mr. Hammond visited Feilding for the purpose of holding service there, for the Manchester Company's immigrants had just arrived, and were dumped down in the midst of their meagre collection of worldly goods. Mr. Hammond was, however, disappointed in his intention, for he had been preceded by his colleague, the Rev. Mr. Reeve, who preached in the open air to the assembled people from the strangely inopportune text, "Beware of covetousness." On the following Sunday Mr. Hammond held his first service in Feilding, the congregation gathering for it beneath a clump of trees. But the immigrants were not all a church-going,

Bible-loving people, for while visiting them after the service, Mr. Hammond came across one settler who was hard at work upon his holding. The reverend gentleman gently reproved him for thus desecrating the Sabbath, whereupon he received the rude and impertinent reply, "I wuked at Home a Sunday, I'll wuk here a Sunday, and if ya say anything to ma I'll sweer at ya."

Just before Mr. Hammond's next visit to Feilding the first adult settler had died, and it was his duty to consign the mortal remains of this pioneer to the grave. The body was taken in a dray over the hill to the present cemetery, where it was buried amidst the mournings of her comrades, each of whom felt that the messenger who had come and called their companion away might soon be knocking at the door for them.*

Travelling at this time was an exceedingly laborious business, for although there was not a fence between Bulls and Awahuri to prevent a horseman riding wherever his fancy led him, the absence of roads and the density of the bush placed such limitations upon his peregrinations that it literally took a long time to

* The first death which took place in the Feilding settlement was that of a child, and the father made a rude coffin for the body and started off with it for the section which had been set apart as a cemetery. On his way he lost himself in the bush, and thinking it would be easier to extricate himself from his difficulty if relieved of his burden, he buried the coffin roughly, intending to return next day and inter it in the proper burial ground. But he was never able to again find the spot where the coffin lay, and his child has therefore ever since occupied a nameless grave. The first adult to die was Mrs. Allen.

go a long way. It was under these adverse circumstances that Mr. Hammond frequently journeyed to Palmerston, but he invariably found a measure of compensation for the wretched condition of the tracks over which he had to travel in the cordiality of the welcome he received at the end of his ride. Nothing could exceed the hospitality of the settlers who were by this time in a position to entertain a visitor, and the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Snelson and Mr. and Mrs. Linton in this respect is well and gratefully remembered by hundreds of travellers who lodged beneath their roof. The people also showed their appreciation of Mr. Hammond's visits by freely attending his services, which were held in the little school-room. The element of denominationalism had not as yet been introduced into the community, for although there were representatives of all denominations in the township, they did not stand upon ceremonial differences, but were simply like one happy family; in fact, Mr. Hammond states that no place has come within his experience where the people lived in such complete harmony as they did in the early days at Palmerston. After a time the advent of other clergymen created just the semblance of friction, principally in connection with the order of the days on which their services were to be held. It was particularly

awkward when two ministers arrived on the same Sunday, for there were hardly enough people to make two congregations, and on one occasion, when another clergyman attempted to "jump" Mr. Hammond's day, the aggressor was compelled to sit quietly and listen to a Methodist sermon instead of preaching one of his own.

A similar complication was got over in a much more pleasant way on another occasion, when Bishop Hadfield* happened to come up on the Sunday usually apportioned to Mr. Hammond. As the visits of a Bishop in those days were somewhat like the visits of the angels in these—few and far between—the people were not a little eager that he should preach to them, and Mr. Hammond generously made way for him, by handing his congregation over to the prelate, and becoming one of the worshippers himself. But after a while any inconvenience which might have

* Considering the infrequency with which Bishops visited Palmerston, it is rather a peculiar coincidence that two of them should have been there on the same day. But it so happened that while Bishop Hadfield was occupying the only private room in the hotel, two clerical-looking gentlemen rode up and asked if they could be accommodated with a private room. They were, however, informed, much to their disappointment, that the only apartment of that nature was occupied, whereupon one of them suggested that perhaps the occupant would not mind sharing it with his companion, as he was the Bishop of Wellington. It never entered the mind of the landlord that there might be more than one Bishop of Wellington, and knowing that he had Bishop Hadfield in the house, he at once jumped to the conclusion that these gentlemen were making unjustified pretensions to a sacred office. In fact, he regarded their story simply as a deep-laid plot to secure the use of his best room, and he was at no small pains to tell them so. Subsequent explanations, however, elicited the information that the new-comer was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Wellington, and in an incredibly short time the prelates were installed in the parlour and the landlord went outside to kick himself.

been created by the duplication of pastors was avoided by the adoption of a recognised rota of Sundays, and from that time there was no further trouble.

Twelve months were thus absorbed in laying down the foundations of their church, by which time the Methodist people had become crystallised into a compact congregation, strong enough to undertake the responsibility of a building of their own. A site was presented to them in Broad Street by Mr. Kibblewhite, of the Wairarapa, and with this for a basis they set to work in 1875, and erected the first portion of the structure, which now does duty as the Methodist Sunday School, and which when first built was capable of seating one hundred and fifty people. Having thus started his people fairly on the way, Mr. Hammond removed to New Plymouth for a year, and in 1878 returned to Palmerston to become the first resident Methodist minister, and after another year in the Manawatu, spent in gathering his flock together, he was removed to take up a new sphere of Christian work amongst the natives of the north, and he was succeeded by the Rev. F. Dewsbury and the long line of clergymen who have since vigorously carried on the work which he so successfully began.

Before Mr. Hammond left, in 1875, an

effort was being made to establish an Anglican Church, and the Rev. Henry Bevis had been sent to minister to those who preferred to worship in that communion. Their services were often held in Mr. Snelson's store, and the first communion was celebrated in Mrs. Snelson's drawing-room. These primitive methods, however, could not satisfy a progressive community, and a movement was soon set afoot to raise funds for the erection of a suitable building, and so energetically was the canvass made that the foundation stone of All Saints' Church was laid by Mrs. Snelson on 29th September, 1875, when what was called in the report of the proceedings "the munificent sum of £8 12s," was laid upon the stone* as the offerings of the people towards the purchase of a font.

It is just thirty-one years ago since the first Roman Catholic service was held in Palmers-ton, and simple were the circumstances of its celebration. Not more than twelve worshippers attended it, and priest and people gathered together in one of the surveyors' slab huts, which stood near the site of the Union Bank. By a strange coincidence that Sunday happened to be St. Patrick's Day, and Father

* The document placed within the stone ran as follows: The foundation block of this Church of England was laid by Mrs. G. M. Snelson, in the presence of the congregation, on September 29th, 1875. The Building Committee are: George Snelson, J. T. Dalrymple, H. S. Palmerson, E. Marsh, Robert Keeling, James Green, Edward Brightwell, the Bishop of the Diocese (Octavius Hadfield), the Incumbent, the Rev. Henry Bevis."

Moreau, of revered memory, was the officiating clergyman. It was the custom of this French priest to travel on foot from Otaki, along the coast, carrying his little bundle of vestments with him across swamps and through rivers, enduring every kind of privation common to those who fight in the ranks of the pioneers. In this way he came to Palmerston, and finding a few of his people here, he arranged for monthly services, which were sometimes held in one place and sometimes in another. Matters thus proceeded in their humble way until about 1875, when it was thought that a church should be built and consecrated to the service of God. Funds were accordingly raised, and the little building which for years has done duty as a Convent school was erected, and in commemoration of the fact that the first service had been held on St. Patrick's Day, it was dedicated to Ireland's patron saint. Father Moreau then came to live permanently in the district, but took up his residence at Feilding, where he was wont to celebrate early mass and then trudge on to Palmerston for the usual morning service. Separation from Feilding came in 1886, and four years later the present church was built, but so rapid and consistent has been the growth of the congregation that another extension is almost within measurable distance.

Contemporaneously with the growth of the

sister churches, the Presbyterians had been steadily endeavouring to obtain a foothold in the district, although their progress had not been quite so rapid as that of either the Methodists or the Anglicans. As already mentioned, Mr. McGregor had been holding occasional services in the school-house, and this continued for about three years. But in 1878 a gable-ended building, with a miniature bell-tower and Gothic windows, was built in Church Street, and Mr. A. M. Wright came from Waikato West to temporarily fill the charge. So satisfactory did he prove to the congregation, that in the following year he was ordained and inducted as their pastor, and the congregation of St. Andrew's became a living institution in the midst of the little community.

While the church was thus seeking to establish itself in the new township, the press was following close upon its heels. As yet the settlers were dependent upon the columns of the Rangitikei Advocate, published by Mr. Kirkbride, at Marton, for the news of the outside world, but the rapid growth of the place had caused some enterprising pressman to view it as a promising spot in which to begin operations. As the Advocate was receiving a good deal of support from the town and district of Palmerston, Mr. Kirkbride was naturally anxious to prevent another

coming in and robbing him of the connection he had already established. Hearing that a newspaper was about to be started in Palmerston, he at once communicated with Mr. J. P. Leary, with whom he had business connections, and suggested that they should spring into the breach and supply the growing want themselves. Mr. Leary then paid a visit to the district, and a fortnight's canvassing convinced him that sufficient support would be obtained to justify the venture. A plant was hurriedly got together and installed in an office situated in what was then called the North Main Road, but what is now known as Main Street.* Here, with the assistance of Mr. Bond, who had a share in the paper, and two compositors, Mr. Leary produced the first copy of "The Manawatu Daily Times" on Saturday, October 23rd, 1875. The "Times" was originally printed as a bi-weekly, on a sheet 19 inches in length and 26½ inches in width, with four columns of matter on each page. Above the leader, in the first issue, is a notice, from which it is gathered that in 1875 mails for Wellington and Whanganui, also intermediate offices, were sent twice weekly by each route, while there was only one mail per week for Napier and intermediate offices, showing that communication between Palmerston and other towns twenty-eight

* The site of the office was near Mr. W. Rawlins' plumber's shop.

years ago was no easy matter. There are several items in the first issue of the "Times" which will interest both old and young in Palmerston. First and foremost, it is announced that the railway from Palmerston to its shipping port, Foxton, is nearly completed, and as showing the free and easy methods then adopted in travelling, mention is made in another part of the paper that the passenger-car on the tram-line from Foxton met with a slight accident through some Maoris, who had been worshipping at the shrine of Bacchus, and were travelling in a truck from the opposite direction, running into the car. Evidently the proprietors and staff were in a jubilant frame of mind on "first publication day," for the following lines are inserted :

"Up, rouse ye then, ye merry, merry men,
For it is our opening day."

The editor then goes on to remark:—"This is a jubilant day for Palmerston, and a remarkable augur of future prosperity. Three great events occur, clashing simultaneously : The first arrival of the iron horse, Puck's girdle round the world in circuit, and our first issue. Memorabilia."

The arrival of the iron horse in the township was a matter of particular interest to the

settlers, particularly as the opening of telegraphic communication took place the same week.* The engine was driven from Foxton on the old wooden rails, and it appears to have had quite a sensational journey, as mention is made in a paragraph that it occupied nearly two days! This was described as a masterly performance and proof of engineering skill, in consequence of the damaged condition of the tramway. It is interesting to note that the first employment of the engine was ballasting the permanent way which was being laid through the township. Reference is made to the opening of Court Manawatu, No. 5655, A.O.F., on October 18, 1875. The Court was opened by District Chief Ranger Croucher, of Wellington, assisted by Past Chief Ranger Bowater, London, and Past District Chief Ranger G. M. Snelson, of Palmerston North. The dispensation was granted to the founders of the Court, Bros. Meyrick, Perrin, and Marsh. Seventeen members were initiated, and the following officers were elected: G. M. Snelson, C.R.; E. Marsh, S.C.R.; J. Perrin, Secretary; F. S. Meyrick, Treasurer; F. Oakley, Senior Woodward; T. Nelson, Junior Woodward;

* The telegraph line at first ran along the beach, and at high tide the poles were often in deep water. When the inland detour was made considerable friction was experienced with the Maoris, who claimed that although they had sold the land they had not sold the right to erect poles on it. The women jumped into the post holes, and other forms of obstruction were indulged in, but with the use of a little tact on the part of the authorities, serious trouble was avoided.

T. Sutton, Senior Beadle; W. Downey, Junior Beadle. There are several items respecting public works in the town. One paragraph mentions that Mr. Beere and his party of surveyors have taken levels for the new bridge leading from Palmerston across the Manawatu (Fitzherbert Bridge), while another states that surveyors were laying out the road for forming of the Square. The commencement of the new road into Feilding, after arrangements with the Road Board had been completed by Mr. Halcombe, is mentioned, and the announcement is made that the publication of the proposed Scandinavian journal in Palmerston was unavoidably delayed, owing to the proprietor having to send home for extra letters. The opening of a shop by Mr. Quin, watchmaker and jeweller, is referred to, also a ball given by Mr. Snelson, a concert in aid of the church funds, and a lecture on life insurance by Mr. H. Clapcott, Travelling Sub-Commissioner of the Government Life Insurance Department.

A sub-leader deals with the work of the Parliamentary session just closed, and the complaint is made then, as now, that "Bills of much importance have been shelved or hurriedly passed, without care or consideration," which shows that our earlier legislators had their faults like those of to-day.

The Parliamentary news states that Mr. Fitzherbert, in speaking on the defence of the colony, condemned the action of Mr. Vogel regarding the four million loan, the latter being defended by Major Atkinson. This is followed by a recommendation from the Public Accounts Committee "that notice be given to determine the present agreement with the Bank of New Zealand, and that tenders be invited from all the Banks in the colony to take the colonial account," a resolution to that effect being carried on the motion of Mr. Bunny, after being supported by Sir Donald McLean, Sir Edward Stafford, Sir George Grey, and others. The fact is also mentioned that Parliament was prorogued by the Marquis of Normanby, who stated that before next session the colony "would be telegraphically connected with Australia and Great Britain."

Among those who had business announcements in the first issue of the "Times" were G. M. Snelson, E. and W. H. Brightwell, J. O'Mara, S. Abrahams, W. Deards, and T. Nelson (storekeepers); C. R. S. McDonnell (Palmerston Hotel), Mrs. Atkinson (Clarendon Hotel), and J. E. Gilbert (Royal Hotel); J. Morris, and Edwin Saunders (bootmakers); Thos. Moffatt and John Taylor (butchers); J. Milverton, Nash, and Davies (painters and



VIEW OF THE SQUARE, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.
North Western Side.



ENGINE AND TRAM SHEDS, PALMERSTON NORTH 1877.

Formerly Situated opposite the present Court House.

paperhangers) ; Meyrick, Perrin, and Oakley (builders) ; H. Fisher and J. Pollock (bakers) ; T. E. Merritt (turner and wood carver), Chas. Tricklebank (bricklayer), R. Mackie (lime merchant) Jas. Linton (land and commission agent), Mrs. Merritt (private school), Richter, Nannestad, and Co. (flourmillers), W. H. Malcolm (saddler), Woolcock and Hosking (blacksmiths), Mrs. Parker (milliner). There are also a number of Foxton advertisements, the names most familiar to old residents being W. J. Port, David Hughey, A. Wakeford, Alex. Gray, W. J. and F. Loudon, A. S. Easton, J. W. Liddell, and E. S. Thynne.

One fact which will be impressed upon the mind of the reader of this retrospect is the numerous changes which have taken place in Palmerston since 1875. Of the settlers whose names are mentioned in the foregoing many have since ended their earthly labours, but their good works are to-day in evidence. Palmerston, indeed, owes them a debt of gratitude, for they, in conjunction with the old settlers remaining, laid the foundation of a place which has since become one of the most flourishing centres in New Zealand.

The first editor of the "Times" was Mr. C. J. Pownall, and he was followed by a son of Mark Lemon, the celebrated editor of

"Punch," who, however, inherited more of his father's name than his talents, and his stay was therefore brief. The editorial pen was then wielded by the late Mr. Richard Leary, whose graceful style was well known even in quite recent times. Pressure of his own business subsequently compelled Mr. Leary to relinquish his literary work, and until the services of Mr. J. B. Dungan were procured, Mr. J. P. Leary performed the dual offices of editor and publisher himself. Mr. Dungan was a capable and even brilliant writer, and when, owing to failing health, Mr. Leary was compelled to sell the paper, Mr. Dungan was able to acquire it and edit as his own. In the meantime the progress of the district encouraged a certain hope of successful opposition, for on the 29th of November, 1880, Mr. Alexander McMinn published the first issue of "The Manawatu Daily Standard." The paper was printed on the hand-press which printed the first number of the "Wanganui Herald," and afterwards the first number of "The Examiner," at Woodville, and the first copy "pulled" was presented to Mr. Sylvester Coleman, a well-known pioneer and former Borough Councillor. The introductory "leader" was contributed by the late Hon. John Ballance, with whom Mr. McMinn had been associated on the "Herald" away back

in the "sixties." The "Standard" was the first daily paper published between Wellington and Whanganui. The "Times" following suit two years afterwards, then the "Rangitikei Advocate," and the "Feilding Star" at a much later date. Considering the size and state of the town, the establishment of a daily paper was a venturesome plunge, and the years of struggle and anxiety which it involved might have killed a dozen less sanguine men than Mr. McMinn, but there were soon troubles to engage the attention of the local newspaper proprietors other than financial worries, for with the advent of a "reptile contemporary" it was not long before there were razors flying through the journalistic air. In their references to each other the papers became anything but too polite, and on looking over old files we see such striking titles to the leading articles as "A Registered Slanderer," "The Trail of the Viper," "Disreputable Journalism," and in one wild effusion we find the following crushing denunciation of a brother journalist which is typical of the period:—"There are spots to be found on the sun, there are scabby sheep in all flocks, and we regret to say that the ranks of colonial journalism has at least one representative who is a disgrace to the order, and a worthy follower of his prototype, Ananias." This

pace was, of course, too severe to last, and it led to the natural but rather serious result of one of the editors standing his trial for criminal libel at the sittings of the Supreme Court. After that, wiser counsels prevailed, and a holy calm pervaded the journalistic mind. What outbursts of editorial anger there have been since then are too recent to be revived here, but it is gratifying to know that the journals of the town are now conducted with a much greater regard for the legitimate functions of a newspaper, and the occasions upon which an editor rises in his wrath to smite his contemporary are rare in occurrence, and his chastisements comparatively mild in their severity.

Contemporaneously with the coming of the clergy and the journalist, the medical profession had its representative in Dr. Spratt, who started practice under a guarantee from the Government of £200 per annum, in addition to which the sum of 2s 6d per month was deducted from the wages of the men employed on the Government contracts for medicine and attendance when necessary, an arrangement which, together with his other earnings, gave the doctor a very comfortable income. In the same way Dr. Rockstrow was invited, in 1873, by Mr. Fox, the then Premier, to settle in Foxton, and as an

inducement he was given a commission to act as medical officer to the natives along the coast, from Horowhenua to Rangitikei. This duty naturally involved a great deal of travelling, at times over roads that were up to the horse's girths in mud, but it gave Dr. Rockstrow a wide circle of acquaintances, and an immense influence with the natives. He knew all the big chiefs intimately, and attended most of them, while in the early days of Foxton he held almost as many offices as the Poo-bah of Japan. Dr. Rockstrow paid his first visit to Palmerston two days after Dr. Spratt had left, and an effort was made to secure his services permanently, but Foxton was a much more convenient centre from which to work his native practice, there being at that time large numbers of Maoris at Horowhenua, Moutoa, and Motuiti, and he therefore determined to remain at the port, which gave every promise of being the more important town of the two. The services of Dr. Marriner were secured instead, and he remained a great favourite with all classes until failing health compelled him to take a sea voyage, which unfortunately did not prove efficacious, for he died at Rio de Janeiro while *en route* to England. Dr. Marriner's death was keenly felt in the little settlement, where he had been extremely popular, for he was a good friend, a skilful

physician, and the embodiment of kindness.

It was the duty of these doctors to visit, at stated intervals, the various public works which were going on in the district, amongst other places on their round being the Manawatu Gorge, where a most important road was in course of construction. Ever since settlement had begun, the Tararua and Ruahine Ranges had formed a serious barrier to communication between the East and West Coasts. Although the Gorge divided them, the water-way was not always practicable, and for the overland journey only steep and tortuous native paths were available.* The first practical step towards securing better communication was the cutting of a cattle track over the Ahuaturanga spur, which joined a similar work on the Hawke's Bay side, but it was not until 1867 that an effort was made to form a track along the precipitous, bush-covered sides of the Gorge. In September of that year, Mr. J. T. Stewart, who was in charge of the roads and surveys of the district, went through the Gorge in a canoe, and afterwards reported to Dr. Featherston that it was possible to construct a road along the river bank without climbing the ranges, and thus secure almost level communication from east to west. With

* One of these crossed the Tararuas a little to the south of the Gorge, starting from the Raukawa pa on the Manawatu side.

commendable promptitude he received instructions to put his scheme into execution, and he appointed a meeting with Mr. Weber, who had charge of the road lines on the eastern side of the range, and together they fixed the level and the point of connection at the eastern entrance to the Gorge.

The first work put in hand was the felling of the bush along the proposed line of road on the southern bank. This was let to Maori parties, who carried out their contract to the complete satisfaction of Mr. Stewart, with the exception that they showed no appreciation for the time element in contracts, and therefore saw nothing improper in frequently knocking off to attend a native meeting, or for any of the hundred excuses a Maori can always find for saying "*taihoa*." The leader of the Maoris in this work, and in a good deal of the formation of the road from Palmerston to the entrance of the Gorge, was a native named Te Kooro-te-one, a most intelligent and reliable man, who managed all their money matters. The formation of the road in the Gorge itself was begun in March, 1871, by working parties, who carried the road a short way in, and then the remainder of the work, together with the bridges and culverts, was let in one contract to Mr. Clark Dunn, who satisfactorily completed his undertaking in

1872. The building of the Upper Gorge Bridge in 1875 gave coach communication through to Hawke's Bay.* But while the work was in progress, the coach passengers were carried across at a height of some seventy feet above the river in a small cage running on a wire rope, and not without some trepidation occasionally on their part while in mid-air.

With the main avenues of travel now fairly opened up, a serious question had arisen as to how they were to be maintained. The old voluntary body was no longer equal to the task, and a Highway Board was therefore formed, with jurisdiction extending from Horowhenua to the Rangitikei River, including both the townships of Foxton and Palmerston. The first Board consisted of the following gentlemen :--

G. M. Snelson (Chairman)	...	Palmerston
J. T. Dalrymple	...	Raukawa
A. Farmer	...	Sandon
J. McPherson	...	Foxton
D. McEwen	...	Karere
J. Eagar	...	Otaki
R. McKenzie	...	Carnarvon

* The contractor for this large bridge was Mr. Henry McNeil, and it was designed by Mr. Carruthers, then Engineer-in-Chief to the Colony. It is carried on stone piers taken down to the rock foundation. The main span is 162 feet, with five subsidiary spans of 40 feet each, and three spans of 16 feet 6 inches each. The main stone piers are 32 feet in height. The names of the Inspectors on these works will be well remembered by old settlers—Mr. Anous Burr on the early Maori roads, Mr. George Nye at a later date on the road, bridge, and tramway works, and Mr Thomas Patterson on the Gorge Bridge contract. Mr John Young was clerk to Mr J. T. Stewart, the District Engineer,

The first Secretary was Mr. James Linton, at whose private house the meetings were held, and some conception of the condition of the country at that time may be formed from the fact that there were only one hundred names on the roll, and that the rateable value over the whole area was less than £300. This local body continued to administer the affairs of its large district for a number of years, and was in its way a useful institution, but according to the people of Palmerston it expended too much money in the country and not enough in the town. This was not to be lightly borne, for the town wanted its streets cleared of stumps and logs, and the Government was successfully importuned to proclaim a Local Board, which would have power to spend the rates raised in its own area. The first meeting of this new body was held on Saturday evening, the 15th of April, 1876. Its pioneer members were: Messrs. H. S. Palmerson, James Linton, C. R. S. McDonnell, Thomas Walton, and William McDouall, while Mr. R. N. Keeling became its first Secretary.

The Local Board's powers were limited compared with those of a Borough Council, but notwithstanding these hindrances, considerable improvements were effected in the appearance of the town. By this time

Palmerston had become an important centre, its population was an active one, and it was not long before Foxton was being left behind in the race of progress. The timber industry had vitalised local affairs, and so poor a thing as a Local Board could not long satisfy so ambitious a people. They had larger visions of local authority and wanted to become a Borough, a wish which was granted to them on 12th July, 1877, when the population numbered only some 800 souls. Into the methods by which this end was accomplished we need not enter too closely, suffice it to say that, in order to comply with the requirements of the Act in the number of buildings, the area which the Local Board had administered was greatly increased, several 40-acre blocks being added. Even then it is said that buildings of all kinds were included in the inventory, whether their use was for stabling horses or as dwellings for their owners. The new Borough was one of the largest in the colony, having an area of 4,595 acres, and the dignity of its government sat comfortably on the shoulders of its inhabitants, who straightaway began to import considerable excitement into the first election of Councillors. Their choice fell upon Messrs. Fritz Jensen, Peter Manson, Thomas Walton, James Gilbert, and George Rowe.

Mr. G. M. Snelson, who had been particularly active in promoting the movement for

municipal advancement, was appointed by the Governor to be the first Mayor, and well deserved the honour. Mr. Keeling was promoted from the secretaryship of the Local Board to the Town Clerkship, an office which he still holds after many years of valuable work in the service of the Council.

To inaugurate so important an event as the formation of a municipality, a fashionable ball was held in the Public Hall, of which the town now boasted. The gathering was a bright and brilliant affair, the settlers from far and near having come to celebrate the birth of the Borough. The ball was opened by the Mayor, who danced with Mrs. Macarthur, of Feilding, while Mr. Halcombe followed with the Mayoress as his partner. Mr. Halcombe presided at the supper, and the speeches made were racy and reminiscent of what even then were called "the old days," the Chairman relating, as an instance of the progress made, how in one of his journeys to Palmerston, he had met a woman who seriously assured him that she had not seen one of her own sex for more than two years!

The new Council quickly set to work to apply its energies in the direction of improving the town, not the least of which improvements was the clearing and forming of the principal streets. Although the early Councils had

many infelicitous conditions to combat, year by year a better order of things was made to prevail, and Palmerston was prepared for its proud position as the capital of this part of New Zealand, and of one of the richest tracts of country in the whole colony.*

Following on the formation of the main arterial roads in the country districts, larger powers were soon required to control them than had been given to the Highway Board, and an agitation quickly arose to supersede it by something more imposing.

This led to the election, in 1876, of the first County Council, of which the following gentlemen were the members :—

E. S. Thynne	...	...	Foxton
J. W. Liddell	...	...	Foxton
G. M. Snelson	...	...	Palmerston
H. McNeil	...	...	Palmerston
A. F. Halcombe	...	...	Feilding
D. H. Macarthur	...	...	Kiwitea
H. Sanson	...	...	Oroua
J. W. Gower	...	...	Kawakawa
H. Macdonald	...	...	Horowhenua

The first meeting of this body was held at Palmerston, Mr. E. S. Thynne being its

* On 31st March, 1878, the population of Palmerston North was 880, of whom 355 were ratepayers. There were 255 buildings in the Borough. The rental value was £9,250, and the capital value £115,625. The revenue was £602, and the overdraft £500. By way of comparison, it is worth noting that on 31st March, 1903, the population was approximately 7,600, of whom 1,300 were ratepayers. There were 1,832 buildings in the Borough. The unimproved rateable value was £331,314, and the capital value was £700,000. The revenue was £13,460, and the overdraft £4,283.

chairman, and for many years it discharged the responsible duty of developing the lines of communication throughout an extensive stretch of new country. In the election of its infant local bodies, the Manawatu had a somewhat unique experience, in the fact that it was here that the democratic principle of "one man one vote" was in all probability first applied in New Zealand. For the purposes of conducting the elections, Mr. McEwen, senr., had been appointed Returning Officer by the Provincial Government, and he having rather radical ideas on the subject of elections, determined to put his own interpretation upon the Act which he had to administer, and decided not to take property into consideration, and to allow no settler to exercise more than one vote. This bold and unconstitutional proceeding caused consternation amongst the larger land-holders, who made no slight demonstration at the polling-booth in their endeavour to induce the radical official to read the law in a light more favourable to them. But that gentleman remained obdurate, and would have nothing to do with plural voting. The burden of this supposed injustice bore so heavily upon the minds of the more well-to-do settlers, that they deemed it to be their duty to protest against Mr. McEwen's advanced views, and with as little delay as possible, a memorial

was sent to Wellington, drawing the attention of the authorities to the informality of the election. Mr. G. S. Cooper, the Under-Secretary, however, proved in his reply to be a Job's comforter, for he simply told them that the matter was beyond the control of the Government, and referred them back to the Returning Officer, and the election therefore passed as valid.

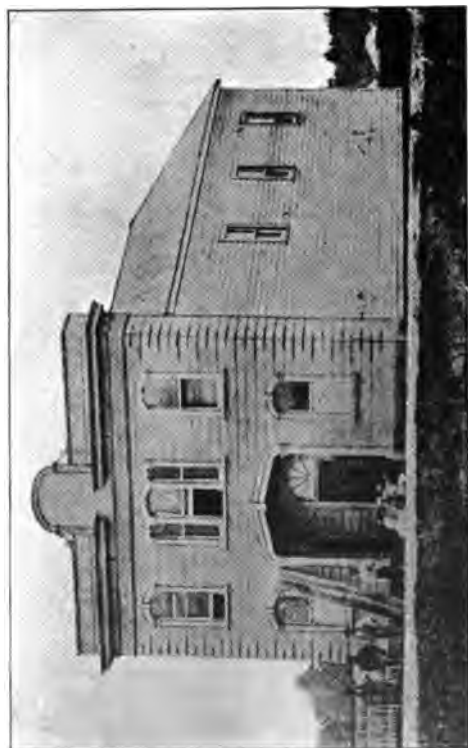
The next important event to mark the ever-active spirit of progress was the establishment of railway communication with Foxton. The old wooden tramway was becoming worn and dilapidated, and it was evident that new rails would soon have to be laid down if this means of traffic was to be kept open. It was thereupon decided to reconstruct the line on a much more substantial basis, and iron rails were gradually substituted for the wooden ones already worn out. The year 1876 therefore saw the passing of the tram and the coming of the train. The railway station was at that time in the centre of the Square, and an early morning train connected with the coach which still ran through the Rangitikei to Whanganui. But in less than two years the coach, like the tram, had to give way before the railway, for in May, 1878, the northern line was completed, and travel was made easy to the rich and growing districts of

the north, which had previously been accessible only after weary rides and tiresome drives. These new avenues of traffic told heavily in favour of Palmerston, and towards 1877 we find the Square completely formed and faced with a fair array of shops. On what is now a vacant lot near the Windsor Buildings (opposite to the Commercial Hotel) stood the Post Office, a little gable-ended building with a wide verandah. Beside it was Hosking's smithy, and the only other buildings on this section of the Square were a small cottage owned by Mr. Green and Mr. R. Leary's chemist's shop, standing where is now the Provincial Hotel. The Bank of New Zealand, which was recently removed to make room for the present substantial structure, and the old Town Hall, on the opposite corner, were almost the sole occupants of the south-eastern side, while to the northward were Messrs. Walton and King's tea mart, and a small and unpretentious store called Nelson's "Little Wonder," which occupied the site of the present extensive establishment of the U.F.C.A. The railway stationmaster's house stood on the corner of the famous section 662, and on the opposite side of the line the only business house of importance was the shop now occupied by Mr. W. Reed. The north-western side of the Square was then, as now, the most popular business quarter, and we

find there a much more formidable row of shops as well as two hotels, the Royal and the Clarendon. At Coleman Place there was a conspicuous wooden pyramid, marking one of the surveyor's trigonometrical stations, while on the south-western side Mr. Snelson's store and auction room was the most imposing structure.

If we picture this sparse and intermittent fringe of shops round a fern-covered flat, in the centre of which stood a small and insignificant railway station, some fair idea of the business portion of Palmerston at this period may be obtained. Behind the Square, but principally towards Terrace End, lay scattered a series of cottages, mostly designed on the lines common to country towns, and behind these again the bush, which everywhere formed an impenetrable background.

The social life of the people at this time was fairly free and easy, and when the navvies on the railway, the bush-whackers, and the farm hands came into town to knock down their cheques, or anything else that came in their way, there was many "a hot time in the old town." It is said that on these occasions the only way in which the publicans could clear their houses at a reasonable hour was to carry a case of grog into the Square, and there let the roystering, rioting crowd drink till the



FORESTERS' HALL, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.

This Hall stood on the site of the Theatre Royal.



MR. G. M. SNELSON'S AUCTION MART, 1877.

liquor was done, or till they could drink no more. On odd occasions even this ruse was not successful, for there were times when these gentry would evade the vigilance of the landlord and get by stealth what they could not procure openly. So found the proprietor of the Royal Hotel, who was one night awakened out of his sleep by the far-away sound of music floating in intermittent cadences up to his bed room. Knowing that he had locked everyone out, he was at a loss to understand the meaning of this sound of revelry at such an ill-timed hour, and so he arose, lit a candle, and proceeded to investigate. As he walked through the house, peering into every room, all were empty and in darkness, and yet there came welling towards him fitful snatches of song, which sounded as though they originated first in one room and then in another. Presently he arrived in the bar, and then, full and deep, from right below him there rose the strains of a familiar air, and in a flash he realised that his cellar had been invaded. What time it took him to unbolt the door and rush to the vault was less than it takes to tell, and there he beheld by the dim light of candles stuck on the tops of the barrels, one of his best hogsheads of beer running to waste on the floor, surrounded by a dozen limp but happy figures singing in incoherent chorus, "Brichens nev'r shall be shlaves."

The extensive growth which was now taking place in the town was merely the reflection of a similar expansion in the country round about, but unlike many rapidly-rising centres, it owed nothing of its progress to the booming of private individuals. The district had its bad years as well as its good, but they were no more than what all parts of New Zealand have at times experienced. In the latter half of the "seventies" some important industrial developments took place; for with a larger population it was possible to make a more effective attack upon the forest, and scores of clearings began to appear. The land was cultivated and yielded a handsome return, while, as events proved, the rainfall was found to be reliable and ample. But the clearings that were made were very small in proportion to the area of country still under bush, and the surrounding picture was an interesting one. Mile after mile of primeval forest, with here and there evidence of the enterprise of determined pioneers, presenting a view of a rough homestead, cattle or sheep pasturing, and patches of wheat and oats.

Here and there, too, the traveller would come upon a sawmill, still the chief source of local wealth, for the timber industry, together with the Public Works policy of the Vogel Government, were the two things

which gave the district the impetus so much required. Within the ten years following upon 1870, much of the country in the northern and western portions of the Province of Wellington was settled. Indeed, the development at that time within the Wellington boundaries was remarkable, although small, perhaps, compared with that of the past decade. But those were substantially the years of sowing; these last the years of harvesting.

The period intervening between 1879 and 1889 was one of severe commercial depression throughout New Zealand, and of course this community had its share of hard times, but again, as with all the colony, it was only the much-advertised darkness that precedes the dawn.

The cosmopolitan people who had made Palmerston and its environs their home were pioneers of the best type. The Britishers, the Scandinavians, the Danes, and the Germans had all by this time brought a certain amount of ordered cultivation out of the apparently impenetrable bush around them. There were several farms in the immediate neighbourhood of the Borough, and even in the Borough itself, which were giving excellent results; but the market was far away, transport difficult, and the prices so incommensurate with the

toil involved in raising the crop, that there were many disheartening features associated with the position.

The "eighties" were therefore not years of plenty for the Manawatu but they are notable for the fact that it was then that the foundations were laid of the two industries which have regenerated the North Island, if not the whole of New Zealand. These were the meat freezing and butter industries. The whole of the West Coast was found to be eminently suited for grazing purposes, and the farmers began to increase their flocks and herds while they extended their cultivations. But although the meat freezing industry was not brought to a successful financial issue until late in the decade, it provided the opportunity for getting stock to unlimited markets. Its development led to the opening up of much new country, and all the advantages that attended thereon. At first freezing works were established at Hawke's Bay and Wellington, to which the local stock was sent, and realised prices never hoped for a few years previously. As a result, land rose in value as much as stock, and an era of progress commenced which brought about so great a transformation that one might well have believed some giant magician had waved his wand over the district. Encouraged by the

prospects before the trade, the settlers were self-reliant enough to believe that they should have their own freezing works, instead of sending all their stock to Napier or Wellington, and a Company was formed to establish a factory at Longburn. Owing to the enterprise being started with insufficient capital, and to other mistakes incidental to ventures of this kind, the Company can scarcely be described as a financial success, and after struggling on for a time against the keen competition of their rivals, the concern passed into the hands of the National Mortgage and Agency Company, who now manage it to their own profit and the benefit of the district.

But what was achieved by meat freezing was soon to be surpassed by its companion, the dairy industry. Already there was a butter export figuring in the trade of the colony, but the article shipped Home was not of a class calculated to bring about an expansion, or to stimulate enterprise. The butter manufactured by the farmers themselves in a dozen different grades was purchased by the storekeepers, "milled" by them and exported in kegs, the farmer obtaining a paltry 4d per lb. for his product. Then dairy factories*

* The first dairy factory in what might be considered the Manawatu district was established by Mr. Corpe, at Rongotea, but the largest concern of the kind is the Dairy Union, which was founded in 1893 with a subscribed capital of £4665, and a nominal capital of £50,000, in 20,000 shares of £2 10s each. To-day the Union has factories and creameries scattered over the Manawatu, Wairarapa, and Hawke's Bay districts.

were established with cool chambers, but as in the case of every new industry there were failures at first; a few of the factories were closed, and it was not for some years that the present conditions were evolved, and the whole aspect of our industrial affairs changed through the Manawatu becoming a land flowing with milk if not with honey.

The effect of what was happening in the country was soon apparent in the town, for by 1886 the population of the Borough had risen to 2,595, and the number of dwellings to 496. There were then 645 ratepayers, and 1,256 rateable properties, of which the rental value was estimated at £19,566. This was considered such satisfactory progress that the then Councillors deemed it advisable to obtain a regular and sufficient water supply, so that the residents would not be dependent upon the cumbrous and haphazard system of wells and tanks, and in February, 1888, the gravitation service from the Tiritea Stream was completed at a cost of £18,500.

As the inland districts forged ahead, increased vitality became evident at the port of Foxton. The opening of the railway from Palmerston made it possible for the sawn timber to be exported, and there was soon a considerable increase in the shipping of the port. The old steamer "Napier" was

replaced by the "Jane Douglas," a smart little vessel, commanded by the popular Captain Fraser, and for years the bulk of the passengers from Wellington to Manawatu were conveyed as far as Foxton by this steamer. The Foxtonians about this time became anxious to have a journal to keep pace with their nearest rival, Palmerston, and accordingly on 27th August, 1878, the first number of "The Manawatu Herald" was issued by Messrs. G. W. and J. R. Russell, who conducted the paper with fair success for several years, and the journal (now under the proprietorship of Mr. E. S. Thynne) has always been a valued exponent of the wants of the town. At this time, too, a Customs House was opened at the port, and there were indications that the place was going to be a flourishing centre. A contract involving a considerable sum was let to Mr. J. Saunders for a new station yard and the alteration of the railway from the main street to the present line, in anticipation of the Wellington railway junctioning at the port. The opening of the Manawatu Railway, with its terminus at Longburn, however, gave the town a strong "set-back," and for some years, until the revival of the flax industry in 1888, the prospects were not encouraging. The flax industry has now made the place one of the soundest and most prosperous in the whole colony.

The town was made a Borough on 18th April, 1888, when the population was about 700.

In close proximity to Foxton there was still a large area of vacant land, which had caught the eye of a number of intending settlers, who made application to the Government to have it cut up into small blocks, offering to pay as much as £2 per acre for it. Much of the land was swamp, and as the Government did not see their way to expend the money necessary to drain it, they could only have sold the dry parts. This they considered would be sacrificing it, and they preferred to sell the whole block to a Mr. Douglas, an Otago squatter, at a figure which did not exceed 15s. per acre. Although Mr. Douglas is supposed to have been the representative of a syndicate, which contained many of the leading men in the colony, the transaction was conducted in his name, and the block became known as the Douglas Block. Amongst the conditions under which the land was sold, it was stipulated that a main drain was to be cut through the swamp, and that at least seventy families were to be settled in a township at the Kopani, in which the roads and streets were to be laid out and formed by the Company. At a subsequent stage it was discovered that the native eeling grounds, which the Government had no right to sell, had been included

in the purchase, and on the natives objecting, considerable litigation followed, resulting in Mr. Douglas receiving compensation, which reduced the price of the land to something like 5s. per acre. During this unsettled period Mr. Douglas, or the syndicate, sold their interest in the block to the Hon. Robert Campbell, another Otago squatter, and it was under his auspices that the present town of Rongotea was established. As part of the compensation awarded for the loss of the eeling grounds, the proprietor had obtained the concession of shifting the township from the Kopani, which was all rich land, and it was therefore laid out on the old terrace of the Oroua River, and called Campbelltown.* By some means the proprietor also managed to avoid the condition imposed in connection with the Kopani township of laying out and forming the streets, and this important and expensive work had to be undertaken by the County Council. Still the township was formed, and is a prosperous settlement in the midst of the finest dairying district in the colony. The name Rongotea was suggested to the settlers by the Rev. T. G. Hammond, and signifies "Bright news." Close beside Rongotea was the Featherston Block, which was presented to Dr. Featherston by the Province, and after his death it was cut up and sold.

* In 1894 the name was changed from Campbelltown to Rongotea under the "Designation of Districts Act." Rongotea was the name of Turi's *hapa*.

But although the pall of depression hung heavily over the Manawatu during the early "eighties," those years must be regarded as memorable for the reason that this was the period in which was commenced the agitation to complete what is now known as the Manawatu Railway. In a colony such as this, where our institutions are fashioned in the mould of democracy, it would neither be right nor politic to countenance a wide extension of private ownership of railways, but whether we look upon this line with a favourable or hostile eye because it is privately owned, there can be no contravening the fact that it is to its existence that the Manawatu largely owes the prosperous and influential position which it holds to-day. It is not contended that without the railway the Manawatu would still have remained in a state of nature, for there will always be an element of progress wherever a section of the British race has established itself, but it is no exaggeration of the facts to say that but for the building of this line there would neither have been the same degree of rapidity in the development of the district, nor would that development have been accomplished with the same amount of profit to the settlers. For this reason no niggardly spirit should actuate the Government in any future negotiations for

the purchase of the railway by the Crown, but its worth as a colonising agent should be borne in mind, and some allowance made to the Company for the part it has played in turning the wilderness into a garden—a service to the country that can scarcely be expressed in a money value. If the Manawatu Railway has not been the salvation of the district, it has at least been the royal road to that end, and as such the story of its inception and construction must find a place in the pages of our history.

This work, strangely enough, was not embraced in the great Public Works scheme initiated by Sir Julius Vogel in 1871, for at that time, and for ten years later, there existed a fixed idea that the results would not justify the expense. Towards 1878, however, there began to grow a glimmering in the mind of Mr. James Macandrew, who was then Minister for Public Works under Sir George Grey, that possibly the dictum of the past was wrong, and that there were in the Manawatu latent qualities which only waited for some such work to vitalise them. He accordingly instituted enquiries and had careful surveys made between Wellington and Foxton, and as no great engineering difficulties were encountered, the construction of the line was sanctioned, with its northern terminus at

Foxton, where it was to connect with the branch already laid to Palmerston. A start was accordingly made, and before disaster overtook the Grey Government, a sum of something like £33,000 was spent, principally upon the tunnels and heavy cuttings in the vicinity of Paikakariki. On the 8th October, 1879, Sir George Grey and his colleagues went out of office, and as these were days when the colony was in reality "galloping to a deficit," a relentless curb was put upon all public expenditure by Mr. Hall,* who succeeded to the Premiership. This mandate of retrenchment was of course extended to the work on the West Coast line, and the stagnation which followed the sudden stoppage of colonial enterprise was experienced as bitterly in the Manawatu as elsewhere.

But this was not all, for in the following year a Royal Commission was appointed, consisting of Messrs. James McCosh Clark, Oswald Curtis, Edward Pearce, John Reid, and E. G. Wright, M.H.R., to investigate and report upon the advisability or otherwise of continuing the construction of certain lines of railway. This Commission is known in history as "The Flying Squadron," and certainly the rapidity with which they travelled through the colony justified the

* Now Sir John Hall.

appellation, for they scarcely gave themselves time to take the scantiest evidence, and the superficial nature of their enquiry may be gauged from the fact that they recommended, amongst other things, the discontinuance of the West Coast line.

"This line," said the Commissioners, "would be in direct competition with that which we recommend should be constructed by way of the Manawatu Gorge. But, apart from that fact; we consider that the proposal is premature, on the ground that a large part of the country it would open up is still in the hands of native owners; and inexpedient on the ground that the value of the land which the line would serve has been greatly overrated, and that the undertaking would be an unprofitable one, which the colony would not be justified in entering upon. We advise that the expenditure now going on at the Wellington end of the line be at once stopped, and the labour employed thereon transferred to the Masterton and Mauriceville section."

The report was generally regarded by Parliament as the result of hurried and imperfect enquiry into the position, and it was not taken seriously, most of its recommendations being ignored as against the claims of party and other political considerations. But in those days the representation along the West Coast was not powerful, and as there was no compact combination of members to champion the cause of the Manawatu line, its suspension was about the only part of the Commission's

report to which the slightest regard was paid. For more than a year the project thus rested in abeyance, and the tunnels and cuttings lay wind-swept and unused, except, perhaps, as a sheltering place for some weary swagger. But all this time there had been a feeling of impatience generating amongst some of Wellington's most enterprising men at the delay which separated them from the day when the city would be connected by railway with its richest stretch of back country.

The need for this railway had long taken definite form in the minds of a few progressive spirits, such as John Plimmer, James Wallace, and the late W. T. L. Travers, but the Government were powerless or unwilling to help. The policy of the day was against further borrowing, and the revenue of the colony did not permit of so gigantic a work being carried on out of surplus funds. The Ministry was repeatedly approached, but the invariable reply was a plea that the railway would not pay, and that there was no money to build it even if its financial success was assured. In this position there was no alternative left for its advocates but to rely on their own resources, and on 30th September, 1880, a public meeting was called in Wellington by Mr. W. T. L. Travers, at which there were some thirty gentlemen present, "to consider what action, if any, should be taken towards

the construction of the West Coast Railway." The Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Jonas Woodward, presided, and Mr. Travers, after explaining his reason for calling the meeting, is credited by a contemporary* report with saying :

There were two or three things we must look upon as postulate. The Government would not construct the line—first, because they would not ; secondly, because they said they would not ; thirdly, because they had no money—and he believed they had no money. There was another mode of constructing the line—viz., the District Railways Act, but personally he had little faith in that Act, and he would not take any part in any suggestion to construct the line under it. Such a proposal would be completely impracticable, and he would resist any attempt to fasten upon the people of Wellington the charge for the guarantee under the Act. He knew of no other means of carrying out the work than by private capital being brought to bear, and he saw no possibility of getting it done by private capital unless the Government gave a guarantee, as people would not take it up as a matter of speculation. He had sketched out a few resolutions with a view to adopting this last method. It would be necessary, before asking capitalists to aid them, to place themselves in possession of the fullest information regarding the probable cost of the work. He believed the scheme was feasible, and if they went to the London money market with a guarantee from the Government of 4 or 4½ per cent., there would be no difficulty in getting the work carried out. Mr. Travers then moved—

- (1) That it was essential to the interests of the city and the districts lying between it and Whanganui, that a line of railway should be

* The "Evening Post."

constructed without delay between Wellington and Manawatu.

- (2) That the Government being unable to undertake the work, steps should be taken to construct it by private capital, the Government being asked to guarantee a reasonable rate of interest.
- (3) That a Provisional Company be formed, and that £5000 be raised to meet the preliminary expenses.
- (4) That the title be the Wellington and West Coast Railway Company, the capital to be sufficient to complete the work and provide rolling stock ; and that Provisional Directors be appointed to take the necessary steps for arranging preliminaries and to issue certificates to all subscribers towards preliminary expenses, entitling them to £3 in shares for every £1 so subscribed.
- (5) That the co-operation of the outlying districts and the members representing them and the city be invited.

Mr. John Plimmer seconded the motion, believing it would be the life of Wellington to have this railway. If the line was not constructed, he saw nothing but disaster ahead. He knew they could save some hundreds of thousands of pounds per year in what could be produced in the district if the West Coast line was completed. If the thing was put in proper form, he would be willing to take up £1000 worth of shares, and there were many who could as well afford to take up £5000 as he could £1000. If he lost that £1000 and the railway was made, he would gain £5000 ; if the railway was not made he would lose £5000 ; was it not better to sacrifice a little for a great good—to lose £1000 than to keep on losing ?

The Hon. Dr. Grace supported the motion, but



READY-MONEY STORE, PALMERSTON NORTH, 1877.

Site of the present U.F.C.A. Store,



A PALMERSTON NORTH WAREHOUSE, 1877.

objected to the scheme as impracticable, as the Legislature would not guarantee this scheme alone; and any scheme which failed would involve great mischief to the project. The Legislature would doubtless be of opinion that the Otago Central would be as much entitled to a guarantee as this one. In his place in the Legislative Council he would most decidedly resist any wide-spread system of guaranteeing loans for the purpose of constructing lines in this colony. He would be willing, in this instance, to incur his portion of the responsibility in supporting a guarantee, but he felt, in the present state of parties, such a guarantee to one place would be impossible. There was another, and not too remote way of getting the line constructed, to urge upon the Government the purchase of the native land lying between Paikakariki and the Manawatu River; a purchase which he believed could be easily effected. This being done, he thought the colony would be quite willing to construct the line out of the proceeds of the land. He pointed out the great loss Wellington was put to by want of proper communication with the West Coast. Criticising the scheme sketched by Mr. Travers, Dr. Grace took exception to the part proposing to give £3 in shares for every £1 subscribed, and pointed out that if the Government purchased the line it would be at prime cost. He moved as an amendment—

That this meeting deposes its Chairman, and the following members (to be chosen) to wait in deputation upon the Government, and urge the completion of the purchase of the native land lying between Paikakariki and the Manawatu River.

The Chairman pointed out that this was scarcely an amendment upon the motion before the meeting, which was the consideration of the first resolution moved by Mr. Travers, as it referred more to the other resolutions

sketched by Mr. Travers. It was therefore decided to postpone it for a time.

Mr. Travers explained that the guarantee was to come out of the land fund arising within the district. As to the amendment, it merely proposed to urge upon the Government to do what was already being done, they having appointed an agent to procure the land. If exception was taken to the £3 being given for £1 subscribed, that portion could be eliminated, but it was necessary to raise money for preliminary expenses, and the plan suggested was that in vogue in England.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Dr. Grace's resolution was then put and seconded by Mr. George Allen.

Mr. John Plimmer moved as an amendment—

That in the opinion of this meeting a preliminary Committee be at once appointed to make the necessary enquiries, and take steps to form a company to be called the "North Island West Coast Railway Company," and to report to another meeting as early as practicable preparatory to bringing the whole subject before the public.

Mr. Wallace seconded the amendment, which he thought supported Mr. Travers' views.

Mr. A. de B. Brandon thought the resolution the most practical solution.

Mr. W. Johnston thought the Government could not object to provide £4000 for the completion of surveys, especially as the work had been authorised for the last two years. A deputation might be appointed to ask the Government to make the surveys.

Dr. Grace then withdrew his motion and Mr. Plimmer's amendment became the substantive motion.

Mr. W. Johnston then moved as an amendment—

That a deputation be appointed by this meeting to wait on the Government, urging that a survey line be made at once, with an estimate of the probable cost of the work.

Mr. Levin thought that if Mr. Johnston's amendment was carried, it would simply mean putting the matter off again. They had sufficient data to go upon to form a tolerable estimate of the cost. It would be better to leave Mr. Plimmer's resolution as it was, and let the Committee obtain what information it could. Before doing anything, however, he hoped the Committee would see that there was a reasonable prospect of something like £50,000 being obtained in Wellington and the district.

The Hon. P. Buckley spoke strongly against going to the Government for anything, they having broken faith so often; when they were prepared to subscribe the money they might go to the Government for information with a prospect of obtaining it.

Mr. W. S. Moorhouse, M.H.R., thought it necessary to treat with the Government for a guarantee, as unless there was some guarantee they could not treat with the English capitalist. The best way to bring about the desired result was to get an understanding from the Government that the whole of the land acquired from the natives should be set aside for the construction of the line.

It being understood that the Committee should do all that was required by Mr. Johnston's amendment, that gentleman withdrew it.

Mr. Plimmer's resolution was unanimously carried, and the following gentlemen were appointed as a Committee:—Messrs. Travers, Levin, W. Johnston, Moorhouse, J. Wallace, Grace, Buckley, Shannon, Brandon,

Hutchison, George, Greenfield, Woodward, A. Young, Plimmer, Lewis, and J. H. Wallace, with power to add to their number.

Mr. J. H. Wallace volunteered to act as Secretary to the Committee.

It was moved by Mr. Levin, seconded by Mr. Plimmer—

That the cordial thanks of the meeting be presented to Mr. Travers for the great trouble he has taken with a view to carrying out the West Coast Railway.

The motion was carried unanimously, and a vote of thanks to the Chairman terminated the proceedings.

Having thus launched themselves into the venture, one of the first things the Committee did was to wait upon Mr. Hall, in the hope that their earnest advocacy of the scheme might induce him to continue the work which the colony had begun. For this deputation the Premier was in a measure prepared by an accidental interview which he had with Mr. Plimmer shortly after the meeting. As was his custom, Mr. Hall had brought his family to Wellington on the eve of the Parliamentary session, and calling at the Ministerial residence early one morning to present a bunch of camellias to Mrs. Hall, Mr. Plimmer encountered the Premier, who said he had read the account of the meeting just referred to, and he cordially invited the Father of Wellington to come in and tell him all about it. As a result of their conversation, Mr. Hall promised that

if a Company was formed the Government would give it a grant of land, and the right to reclaim thirty acres for a terminus in Wellington. But he did more than this, he agreed to make the Company a present of a new iron bridge which had been imported from Home to span the narrow neck which divides Porirua Harbour, and also to introduce a Bill enabling the Company to commence operations immediately on its formation. With these preliminary concessions assured, the way of the deputation was easy, for it was necessary to discuss only the basis of the agreement between the Government and the proposed Company, and to obtain an official assurance of what the former was prepared to do. These negotiations were of such an encouraging nature that it was then decided to form a Joint Stock Company, and an energetic canvass of the City was at once made by Messrs. John Plimmer and James Wallace, who were well supported by intending shareholders. In 1881 the Company was registered with a capital of £500,000*; and the Railways Construction and Land Act was passed, under which the Company was authorised to proceed with the work, and under which they also received an endowment of 215,000 acres† in the Manawatu. The

* This sum was afterwards increased to £850,000, of which £170,000 is paid up, and debentures have been issued for £680,000 at 5 per cent.

† This land was valued by Messrs. James McKerrow, Surveyor-General; James Linton, and T. K. Macdonald.

location of this land had an important effect upon the railway, for under the original survey it had been intended to sweep across the Horowhenua district to Foxton, but the Company now not unnaturally determined to divert the line to their own property, and make the northern terminus at Longburn instead.

The first contract for construction was signed in September, 1882, and the work was pushed on so vigorously from both ends that the whole line was completed by November, 1886. On the 3rd of that month there was performed, at Otaihanga, the historic ceremony of driving the last spike at the spot where the northern and southern sections connected. Over this finishing point a triumphal arch, built of nikau palms and fern fronds, was stretched, underneath which a train from Wellington, bearing some seven hundred excursionists, steamed, just as a sister train from Palmerston came in sight with over three hundred passengers, bent upon witnessing the interesting ceremony. The day was beautifully fine, and scarcely could a more picturesque spot have been chosen, or one in which the richness of its historic associations so completely marked the parting of the old order from the new. Under the shade of the hill the people

gathered in a motley group, while His Excellency the Governor, Lady Jervois, Sir Robert Stout, the Premier, and several of his Ministers were conducted by Mr. J. E. Nathan, the Chairman of Directors, to the spot where the last spike was to be driven. Here Mr. Nathan delivered an address, in which he reviewed at length the history of the railway, the story of its troubles and its triumphs, in the following terms :—

Your Excellency,—Permit me, on behalf of the shareholders of the Company, to tender you our thanks for your presence here to-day, and for your kindness in consenting to drive the last spike, thus putting the finishing stroke that completes the line of railway between Wellington and New Plymouth. My Board ventured to ask you to perform this ceremony, because they felt that although this work had been, and is still being carried out by a Joint Stock Company, the work they have accomplished is of no ordinary character. They venture to esteem this work as of a colonial character, originally undertaken at a time when the colony, as a whole, was suffering from severe depression—at a time when the Government of the colony practically said to the citizens of Wellington, “However much we recognise the need of such a work being performed, it is beyond the power of the Executive Government of the colony to undertake it.” There was then aroused in the hearts of the citizens of Wellington, and the settlers of the province, that feeling of self-reliance and thorough earnestness which, when directed towards a good purpose, invariably leads to success. We claim that not only have we built a railway that will benefit the whole colony, but that we have set such an example to our fellow colonists, of united action for the common good,

that it will for ever afterwards serve as a monument of well-directed energy and perseverance. It may not be inappropriate on this occasion to place on record a short history of our proceedings. When the Public Works Act was first announced, the Northern Main Trunk Line was laid down on the present Napier route, passing over the Rimutaka. Many Wellington citizens saw at once that such was a vital mistake, that without provision for connection of the city with the West Coast, Wellington, for all practical purposes as a commercial centre, was completely isolated and cut off from the largest and most valuable portion of the province as represented by the rich lands stretching from where we now stand, as far as New Plymouth on the one side, and the centre of the Island and Napier on the other. Despite strong representations by prominent representatives in Parliament, no attempt was made to rectify the mistake, or to recognise the claim of Wellington to have a shorter, cheaper, and safer railway connection with the north than by the Rimutaka. It is to the Government under Sir George Grey that Wellington is indebted for this railway. Mr. Macandrew, who was Minister for Public Works under Sir George Grey, was the first to recognise the necessity of providing a Northern Trunk Line that would give quick and easy travelling, and yield profitable returns. In 1878 and 1879 Mr. Macandrew had extensive surveys made, which demonstrated that by adopting a West Coast Line to Palmerston a saving of a third of the distance would be made, beside having a railway built on a much-improved grade. Mr. Macandrew had such faith in the prospects of a West Coast Line that he commenced the work without delay. Unfortunately, after an expenditure of over £33,000, a change of Ministry having taken place, the work was stopped, and the line reported against by a Royal Commission. In the face of such report there were those who, nevertheless, had faith in the line, and were

prepared to risk their capital and spend their time in promoting the undertaking. Foremost amongst those who took a very energetic part about this line, I should mention Mr. Travers, also Mr. Wallace, our able manager. Deputations waited on the Cabinet, representing all the advantages that would accrue to the colony by the carrying out of this work. When Sir John Hall, then Premier, pointed out that the Government had not the means to continue the good work already commenced by Mr. Macandrew, he said that if the citizens were so confident of the result of such a railway being built they would invest their own capital, then his Government were prepared to make certain concessions, if a Joint Stock Company was formed for carrying on the work ; and he would introduce a Bill into Parliament to give due effect to the proposal. In a few months such a Joint Stock Company was formed, with a capital of £500,000, and the shares were taken up by the citizens of Wellington and the settlers in and around Palmerston, to the extent of £50,000. It was represented to intending shareholders at the time, that they were not invited to take shares in this Company as an ordinary Joint Stock undertaking, but they were asked to subscribe such sums as they could, according to their several positions, afford without the expectation of any return, the intention being that the £50,000 might be placed at the disposal of the promoters to ensure the work being carried out. However, the £50,000 was subscribed, and the Company was registered in 1881. The Land and Railway Construction Act was passed in the same year. A contract was immediately concluded between the Government and the Company, and was signed on the 22nd of March, 1882. In the course of the negotiations with the Government, and with those with whom it was deemed desirable to be in sympathy with the undertaking, so much was learned of the country through which the proposed line was to run, that those who had entered into the undertaking as

colonists for the good of the colony as a whole, and for the Wellington city and province in particular, saw it would prove a pecuniary success. Invitations were sent to eighteen gentlemen to meet at the Chamber of Commerce, of whom thirteen attended. The contract with the Government and the prospects of the Company were explained to these gentlemen, and they were asked to subscribe for the maximum shares allotted to be held by the Articles of Association, viz., 2,000. It is a great pleasure to place on record the fact that each gentleman present, either for himself or for the firm he represented, at once signed this paper. Here it is, signed by thirteen, viz., J. E. Nathan, John Plimmer, Travers and Cave, James Lockie, N. Reid, W. R. Williams, Thompson and Shannon, James Bull, T. G. Macarthy, F. and C. Ollivier, J. B. Harcourt, James Smith, and D. Anderson, junr., thus at once increasing the subscribed capital to £130,000. The work done on that day by thirteen citizens of Wellington must be esteemed the most important that was ever concluded in one day in the annals of Wellington, and this particular document will be mounted and preserved, as so important a document deserves to be. Within a few days of this meeting (March 23rd, 1882) the subscribed capital amounted to £300,000. Other citizens followed the worthy example set them by the thirteen subscribers of this document. Most of the gentlemen who formed the first directorate are still members of it, and it is due to the efforts of these, supported most loyally by the shareholders of the Company, that the railway is completed to-day. I must not forget to mention that the Company is indebted to Sir Julius Vogel, who so ably acted as the first agent of the Company in London, to whom was entrusted the important function of floating the first debentures, amounting to £400,000, and appointing the first London Board. These important matters were carried out by Sir Julius at a time, and under circumstances that it is

believed no one else could have succeeded as he did. Our first London Board consisted of Sir Penrose Julian, Sir Edward Stafford, and the Hon. Mr. Mundella. It is to Sir Julius Vogel and these gentlemen that the shareholders are indebted for the successful floating of the Company's debentures, now amounting to £560,000, the capital of the Company having been increased in 1885 by the issue of further shares, so that to-day it is £700,000 in £5 shares, £75,000 being subscribed for in Wellington and other parts of the colony, and £65,000 in London. In September, 1882, the first contract was commenced, and to-day, 3rd November, 1886, or in four years and two months, the last contract has been finished, and the works may be said to be completed. On the railway itself, for formation and rolling stock, over £700,000 has been expended in completing and equipping 84 miles. As to the importance of this railway as a main link in the chain of the Trunk Line, it may be stated that by using the Company's Line when the inland portion from Marton to Te Awamutu is completed, it will be possible to run at express speed from Auckland to Wellington in sixteen or seventeen hours. Even now, with a fast line of steamers running between Taranaki and Auckland, we hope to see a service between Auckland and Wellington of twenty-four hours. The importance of this line as a link in the development of settlement of those vast and fertile lands between the two great and fine ports of the colony, cannot be over-estimated. Wellington and Auckland may be said to possess the only two harbours in the North Island. There is lying between them a vast extent of the finest land awaiting settlement, the one essential being rapid and easy communication to and from these fine lands to these two harbours, easy of access to ocean-going steamers and sailing ships. But the line that would divide this traffic, as between the two ports, as far as cheap transit is concerned, cuts across the Island at the points which gives the largest area of

land suitable for settlement, by fourfold to Wellington, and through this so described land we have the New Plymouth Line running a distance of 166 miles; the inland Trunk Line, 150 miles, when finished; the Napier, when completed to Palmerston, 130 miles; all centreing at Longburn, the junction of the Manawatu Railway. The total area of this country so served by this line as the main trunk leading to Wellington harbour, is 5,000,000 acres, little more than one-fifth of which can be said to be occupied, the balance awaits development. In this view, which is the correct one, Wellington, so far as settlement and development is concerned, is but in its infancy. All other parts of the colony have been opened up, occupied, and settled. The back country proper of Wellington has only been touched at its threshold. The Manawatu Railway is the royal road to its development. No part of New Zealand is equal to that portion which this railway will serve for cattle raising or as an agricultural country, because of its salubrity, shelter, and the quality of its soil. For all these reasons we esteem our work one of colonial importance, and thank you for consenting to take part in this day's proceedings. Allow me now to hand you the last spike, with which I will ask you to complete the link that will unite Auckland, Napier, and Taranaki with Wellington.

At the conclusion of Mr. Nathan's speech, Sir William Jervois drove the last spike, apologising for his awkwardness in doing so by explaining that he was not an experienced navvy. At the same time he expressed his pleasure at being present on such an occasion, which was a red-letter day not only for Wellington but for the whole colony. In his opinion it was impossible to exaggerate the value of the work carried out by the Company, a work

which he predicted would open up a vast area of country for occupation by prosperous settlers.

Mr. Nathan then, on behalf of the Directors, presented His Excellency with a gold spike, enclosed in a handsome case inlaid with New Zealand woods, and amidst the ringing cheers of the people and the strains of the National Anthem, the greatest enterprise which had up to that time been attempted in the Province, was consummated. An adjournment was then made to a large marquee, where luncheon was laid and speeches of a congratulatory nature were made, the one note of regret being sounded by Sir Robert Stout, who expressed his disappointment that the line had not been made by the colony instead of by the Company.

On November 29th of the same year high holiday was kept in Palmerston, for on that day the first train, consisting of ten carriages, ran through from Wellington to the Manawatu, and signalised by its advent the actual opening of the railway. Many of the five hundred passengers who came by that train had never before passed beyond the confines of the city, and the amazement with which they beheld a town of Palmerston's magnitude set in the heart of the bush was equalled only by the enthusiasm with which they contemplated the magnificent stretch of rich though

undeveloped country through which they had passed. In commemoration of the occasion, a great banquet was held in the Theatre Royal, at which the Mayor of the town, Mr. A. Ferguson, presided, being supported on his right and left by Messrs. J. E. Nathan* and James Smith, prominent pioneers of the line, while the vice-chairs were occupied by Messrs. Linton† and West, ex-Mayors of the Borough.

As is natural on such an occasion, generous eulogium was passed upon the enterprise of those who had promoted the railway, and the fancy of the orators was allowed to fly into the realm of prophecy; but great as the expectations were in those days, they were not half so great as the realisation has been in these, for the success of the railway has far exceeded the brightest hopes of its builders, and as an aid to the development of the country it has played a part which must command as much respect from the Democrat, who believes in State-owned railways, as from the Conservative who pins his faith to private enterprise.

* In the course of his speech, Mr. J. E. Nathan, Chairman of Directors, drew attention to the difference in treatment which the Company had received from the Maoris and from the European settlers, in proof of which he stated that out of the 84 miles of railway which they had constructed, the natives had granted them running rights over 31½ miles of land, while they had only obtained a similar concession over three miles from Europeans, and as an instance of how some of them seemed to consider the Company "fair game" to be exploited, he mentioned that one settler claimed £4,700 as compensation, but the Court was satisfied that he was entitled to no more than £300.

† Several of the small townships along the line were called after prominent Directors of the Company. Thus it was that Linton, Shannon, Levin, and Pimmerton received their names.

In 1891, the line from Napier through the Gorge was completed.* This was one of the works discouraged by the Royal Commission of 1880 because of its extreme cost, estimated at £139,000, and for the reason that it was thought to be of little value until communication between Wellington and Woodville was established. Good reasons were, however, found for constructing it long before the latter link was completed, but it was not originally intended that the town of Palmerston should derive much benefit from it. As at first laid out the line ran direct from the Gorge to what is now known as Bunnythorpe,† but which in those days rejoined in the aristocratic name of Mugby Junction. Mugby was a settlement laid out by the Manchester Corporation, and it was clearly understood that it was to be the junction of the East and West Coast Railways. On this understanding $\frac{1}{4}$ -acre sections were eagerly bought in the township at £100 and upwards. The bush was actually felled along the line, and at one time instructions were issued to the Manchester Corporation to employ their

* This arduous and difficult piece of railway construction was carried out under the Public Works Department, by the contractors, Messrs. Jones and Peters, and with its completion, the quiet stillness of this picturesque mountain passage, formerly broken only by the *waiata*s from a passing Maori canoe, was gone for ever.

† Bunnythorpe is a Government township laid out on the opposite side of the railway to Mugby Junction. When the diversion to Palmerston took place, a great fall occurred in Mugby sections, many of which were bought for £100 and sold for £5.

immigrants upon its formation, but this they were not able to do at the moment, a failure which proved of inestimable value to Palmerston. Consequent upon the inability of the Corporation to find the labour, the line was not commenced as early as contemplated, and before serious attention could again be given to it, the Manawatu Company had built their railway, which rendered a diversion to Palmerston imperative, and Mugby Junction became one of the many dreams that have never been realised.

In 1897 the link of railway between Eketahuna and Woodville was completed, thus giving communication with Wellington via the East Coast, and there can be no question that the concentration of so many lines of railway upon Palmerston North has been fraught with most astonishing results. It is now the most important town in all the country between Wellington and Napier and Wellington and Whanganui, and outside the four chief cities it is the fourth largest town in New Zealand—Whanganui, Nelson, and Napier each have larger populations, but the first two are nearly thirty and the latter over twenty years older. But probably not one of the three has the potentialities of Palmerston, and it is well within the region of possibility that before many years have elapsed



FITZHERBERT BRIDGE, 1877.

Palmerston North Side.



FITZHERBERT BRIDGE, 1877.
Fitzherbert Side.

it will have a larger population than any of them.

But it would be impossible to trace in consecutive detail the various steps by which Palmerston North has risen to this importance. It undoubtedly owes much to the richness of the surrounding country, its fortunate position as a railway junction and commercial centre; and its citizens, recognising that they must make the most of these advantages, are ever ready to accept the responsibilities which they involve. So far as its municipal management is concerned, its streets are broad and well kept. In many of them there are avenues of trees, and at night they are lighted, in most instances by large incandescent arc lamps. Seven of these powerful illuminators are situated at different points of the Square, their lofty and ornamental pedestals being as beautifying by day as their rays are useful by night. In the centre of the Square stands a stately band rotunda, set in the midst of a green lawn and surrounded by pretty plantations of trees and shrubs, while near it rises a Gothic monument to commemorate the coronation of King Edward VII. The Council has also provided a splendid recreation ground and picturesque park for outdoor amusements, as well as a Public Library and Reading Room for intellectual entertainment. An excellent hospital,

founded in 1887* as a memorial of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, graces the summit of one of the neighbouring eminences, receiving into its wards the sick and maimed from a wide district. In sanitary matters Palmerston North is equally up to modern requirements, for water and sewerage services are now extended, or on the point of being extended, to almost every part of the Borough, and every year these conveniences are becoming more complete.

In municipal progress Palmerston North also possesses the distinction of being the first town in the world to adopt the principle of rating on the unimproved value of its land, and although in times gone by there were dark days in the Borough finance, so much so that all new works and even maintenance had to be suspended, the revenue of the town is now well assured, and the burden of taxation is not excessive.

But the City Fathers are not the only ones who display energy and enterprise in making

* Prior to this time all cases of accident from the Palmerston district were sent to the Whanganui Hospital, and as there was a great deal of bush-felling in and around the town, these misadventures were of very frequent occurrence. Mr James Grace, who was then a guard on the railway, saw many cases of intense agony caused by the train journey, and when a public meeting was held in Palmerston to consider how the late Queen's Jubilee might be best commemorated, it was decided on his suggestion to build an hospital, "as a fitting work by which the completion of the Victorian half century should be marked." A site was purchased for £300, and from various sources a sum of £540 was available for building purposes, amongst them being the proceeds from an Industrial Exhibition, which was opened in the goods-shed (in the Square) on December 28th, 1887, and realised a profit of £241 7s.

Palmerston North worthy of its position, for a Chamber of Commerce watches over many matters of public interest, and if the town is famous for one thing more than another, it is for its great Agricultural and Pastoral Show. As the district began to develop, the idea of having such an institution in the town had been simmering in the minds of many residents, and it is doubtful whether the credit of originating it can be given to any particular individual. But the first practical step in this direction was taken by Mr. Snelson, when he applied to the Government to set aside, as an agricultural reserve, a section of nine acres which lay contiguous to the centre of the town, and which had formerly been used as a cemetery. This request was graciously acceded to, but it was not until 1885—after the temporary suspension of the Whanganui Show—that the project of forming an A. and P. Association took healthy root. For this the district is undoubtedly indebted to Mr. Robert Cobb, who strenuously advocated its claims, and actively canvassed the country side for both personal and financial support towards the new Society, which has since had such a splendid career.

No barometer so faithfully records the progress made by this part of the North Island as the rapid strides towards metropolitan fame

achieved by the Manawatu and West Coast Agricultural and Pastoral Association. Seventeen years ago this institution began a humble existence in a stump-covered paddock in a little bush township, with a total entry of 290 exhibits, of which sheep alone comprised fully one-third. But the days when there were only 73 horses and 45 cattle brought to the Manawatu Show have long since passed away,* and with them the little bush township; indeed, so rapid has been the transformation, and so great the change, that it would be almost incredible to any one not acquainted with the facts, who now visited the grounds on show day, to conceive that so primitive a condition of affairs could have once existed. But it must not be supposed that the development of our bush lands has alone been responsible for the enormous congregation of products pertaining to the agricultural and pastoral industries gathered together in Palmerston, for the Association, under whose auspices these shows are held, has always had a committee who have presided over its affairs with a patient enthusiasm that has never failed to seize the favourable opportunity of pressing forward the claims of the Society.

* At the inception of the Association, almost every animal exhibited at the show belonged to the district immediately around Palmerston North, but now the pick of the flocks and herds are brought from far and near to compete. At the 1902 show the total entry in all classes was 6,297.

In their solicitations for support they have ever been loyally aided by the people of the town, and both working harmoniously together have built up a show which now commands respect as the leading exhibition of its kind in the colony. This annual event is attended by upwards of 20,000 people, who flock from all parts of the North Island and some parts of the South to swell the crowd at the Farmers' Festival. The arrangements made for the accommodation of this multitude are invariably the most complete, and reflect the greatest credit upon the committee, who take as much pride in their work as the public take pleasure in patronising the show, which is unrivalled in the North and not surpassed in the South.

Another interesting feature of the business life of Palmerston North is its weekly stock sales, at which thousands of sheep and hundreds of cattle are brought under the hammer of the auctioneer. To these sales buyers come from far and near, and on a "sale day" the town assumes quite an animated appearance, this being regarded by the shopkeepers as their natural opportunity for reaping the weekly harvest.

From an architectural point of view Palmerston North is not yet very impressive, as there are few buildings of massive proportions or

imposing appearance. Perhaps the best of them are the Court-house and Public Library, while St. Patrick's Church, with its lofty steeple rising out of a Norman tower, and its tuneful peal of bells, is the most striking of the twelve ecclesiastical buildings which fulfil the religious requirements of the people. The education of the young is attended to in eight schools, both public and private. At one of the former—the Technical School—which is associated with the District High School, art in many of its branches is taught.

Owing to its central position, its splendid means of communication, and the constant influx of strangers Palmerston North has become an extremely cosmopolitan town. It has escaped the narrowness of thought and action which is begotten of isolation, and the newcomer who desires to cast in his lot with its inhabitants, will find them willing to extend to him a hearty welcome and a fair field for his energies. So long as this generous attitude is maintained people will be attracted to the town and district, and as an increase of population means an increase of business, the future of Palmerston North need give its residents no concern. It has a position which stands pre-eminent. The surrounding district is rich and fertile, and with one or two exceptions it is settled to the best advantage.

The one thing it requires is a large industrial development, and this but needs the provision of some cheap power which perhaps is stored in the streams of the district, waiting to be harnessed by the ingenuity of man, who can apply the electrical energy thus obtained to the factory and the workshop. If these great natural assets are only utilised and developed by an energetic and industrious people, Palmerston North will yet become what it ought to be—the large and populous manufacturing centre of a district which by virtue of its traditions and historical associations may justly claim to be regarded amongst the richest of New Zealand's classic spots.

THE END.

ESTABLISHED 1900.

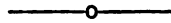
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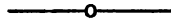
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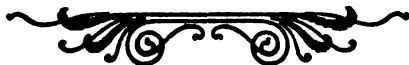
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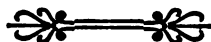
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The WEST COAST of the South Island provides a wonderful panorama of magnificent scenery—Mountains, Forests, Lakes, Rivers, Glaciers, Hot Mineral Waters, etc.

The Lake of lovely reflections, and Kaneiri,
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Minister in charge of the Department of Tourists and Health Resorts:

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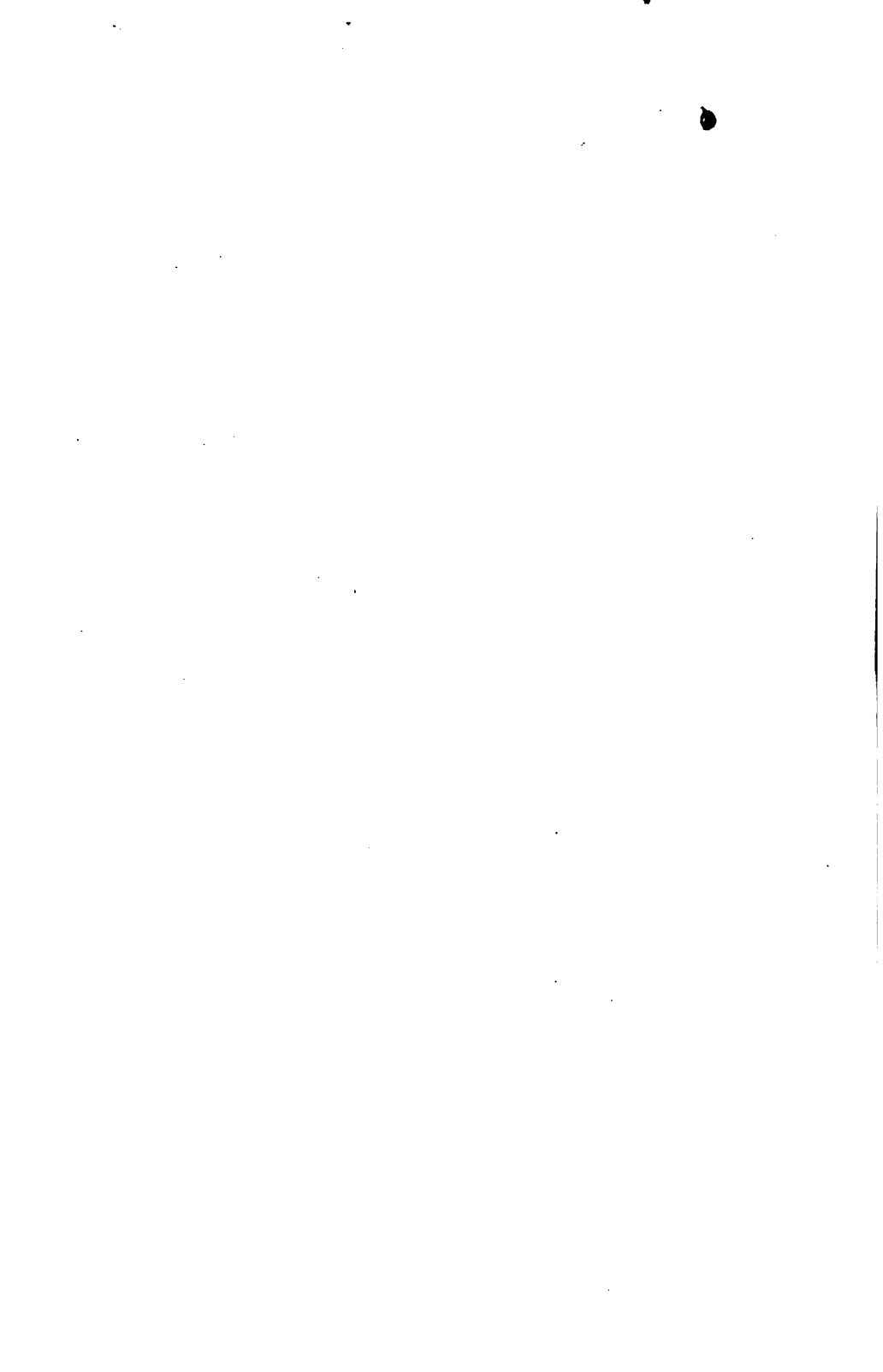
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